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New England
A Bibliography of Its History

Bibliographies of New England History

JOHN BORDEN ARMSTRONG (1926–1985)

Boston University

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8. *New England: Additions to the Six State Bibliographies* (1989)

New England

A Bibliography of Its History

Volume Seven of Bibliographies of New England History

Prepared by the



COMMITTEE FOR A NEW ENGLAND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Edited by

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Boston University

With a Historiographic Essay

by DAVID D. HALL and ALAN TAYLOR

Boston University

UNIVERSITY PRESS OF NEW ENGLAND

Hanover and London

University Press of New England

Brandeis University

Brown University

Clark University

University of Connecticut

Dartmouth College

University of New Hampshire

University of Rhode Island

Tufts University

University of Vermont

Ref

Z1251

.E1N452

1989

Soc Sci

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2-16-90

BPL1SO

39999061767792

Parks, Roger N.

New England : a

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Printed in the United States of America on permanent/durable acid-free paper.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING-IN-PUBLICATION DATA

New England, a bibliography of its history / prepared by the Committee for a New England Bibliography ; edited by Roger Parks ; with a historiographic essay by David D. Hall and Alan Taylor.

p. cm.—(Bibliographies of New England history ; v. 7)

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 0-87451-496-7 : \$40.00

1. New England—History—Bibliography—Union lists. 2. Catalogs, Union—United States. I. Parks, Roger N. II. Hall, David D. III. Taylor, Alan, 1955– . IV. Committee for a New England Bibliography. V. Series.

Z1251.E1N452 1989

[F4]

016.974—dc20

89-40231

CIP

*This volume
is dedicated with affection and respect
to John Borden Armstrong
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*This volume has been made
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Introduction

The Bibliographies of New England History series now consists of eight volumes, listing more than 60,000 titles on regional, state, and local history subjects. The first six volumes, published between 1976 and 1986, deal with the history of the six individual states: Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. Volume 8, published simultaneously with this one, lists additions and corrections to the state bibliographies and updates them through 1987, with additional entries for 1988 and early 1989.

This volume contains entries that pertain to the history of the region and to more than one New England state. It also includes writings about the Northeastern United States in which New England is prominently mentioned and works on certain subjects in the American past that are nearly synonymous with New England: Puritan history, for example; the early histories of Congregationalism, Unitarianism, and Christian Science; the early textile and whaling industries; and Franco-American history. The cutoff date for comprehensive coverage was December 31, 1987, but the listings also include more than 60 entries for 1988 and early 1989 that have come to the editor's attention.

New England regional history accounts for a relatively small portion of the writings listed in this series, but includes some of the earliest historical works in America, as well as a considerable number of recent writings. Indeed, more than 40 per cent of the entries in this volume cite works produced during the 20 years since the Bibliographies of New England History series was conceived.

This bibliography, like Volume 8, lists doctoral dissertations on a comprehensive basis and some

selected masters' theses—nearly 500 titles in all—in addition to published historical writings. Unlike the other seven volumes, which are organized geographically, it groups entries under subject headings. Most of the subjects dealt with here are also treated extensively in the state bibliographies. Readers who are interested in a particular topic in New England history, be it social, cultural, or political, will usually find a number of additional, relevant entries by consulting the indexes to the other volumes.

With the exception of dissertations, which have come to be widely available as "on-demand" publications, and masters' theses, which are usually unpublished, this bibliography lists primarily published historical writings: books, pamphlets, magazine and journal articles. With the exception of masters' theses and a few other items to be mentioned below, this is also a comprehensive rather than selective bibliography. Within the editorial guidelines of the Committee for a New England Bibliography (CNEB), it includes all titles found in a systematic search of regional history collections and numerous periodicals files.

The various works cited here were written by academic scholars, professional writers, and amateur historians. Some of the subjects dealt with are of broad, current interest to students, scholars, or general readers; others are of more local concern or reflect the interests of earlier generations of historians and their readers. Occasional foreign language publications, when found, have been listed.

In bringing these materials together, we make no qualitative judgment. Our purpose is to identify and make accessible the many scattered publications and to suggest the kinds of information that can be gleaned from them through careful

use of the bibliography and its index of authors and subjects. Our listings provide uniform bibliographical data: name of author, full title of the work, place and date of publication, and pagination. We provide a library location for each book and pamphlet entry and one for each dissertation and thesis found in a collection other than that of the university or college at which it was written.

Editorial Guidelines

Under the guidelines for the series, the writings listed here were produced as works of history or contain a significant historical dimension. To qualify as history, as distinct from contemporary chronicle, they must have been written at least a year after the events they describe. They must also deal primarily with events that occurred in New England.

Certain categories of materials, with exceptions to be described below, have been ruled out by our guidelines: almanacs, directories and guidebooks; government documents; historical articles published in newspapers; genealogies; maps and atlases; works of fiction; juvenile literature; and, originally, biographies and autobiographies.

"The exclusions, however," as former editor T. D. Seymour Bassett explained in his introduction to the Vermont volume, "are not absolute. We try to go beyond the form and determine the substance." Thus, although we exclude straight, tabular genealogies, we do include family histories. We also now include a substantial number of individual biographies and autobiographies that in our opinion contain significant materials about some aspect of New England history. Biographical coverage in the series is concentrated primarily in the state volumes, especially volumes 4 through 6—Vermont, Rhode Island, and Connecticut—and Volume 8, which expands and updates the six state bibliographies. In this volume, we deal only with individuals who are strongly identified with more than one New England state, such as Daniel Webster and Calvin Coolidge, Lyman Beecher and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

While our general policy is to be comprehensive within these defined limits, there are a few categories in which we do not make a systematic search but nevertheless include items that have come to the attention of the editor. A notable example is that of newspaper articles. Although we do not search the many newspaper files that

might contain an occasional historical article, we do list a certain number of such articles—especially articles in a series—that have come to light in our library searches.

Finally, we attempt in this volume and in the series to be comprehensive within specific limits in dealing with such subjects as literary and theological history. We list, for example, works that trace the general outlines of New England literary history and describe important developments within that field; studies that pertain to the literary treatment of some aspect of the region's history; and biographies of a number of authors who are identified with more than one New England state. Similarly, in dealing with theological history, we emphasize broad historical studies and biographies of important figures. We do not attempt to cover the voluminous analytical literature that has been produced by scholars in these or analogous fields of study.

Research Strategy and Procedures

The editor began recording entries for this volume in Connecticut libraries while completing that state's bibliography in late 1984 and 1985. The work continued simultaneously with the compilation of Volume 8 from early 1986 through January 1989.

Many New England libraries collect New England regional history, but few specialize in it. One that does is the research library at Old Sturbridge Village in Sturbridge, Massachusetts, which collects titles that reflect the museum's emphasis on New England history in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. After completion of the Connecticut volume, the editor carefully searched the collection at Sturbridge and that of the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts. The latter institution's strong holdings in state and regional history emphasize the period from early settlement to ca. 1820.

The search continued in the Essex Institute in Salem, Massachusetts, which also has strong holdings in early New England history. From there it extended to major libraries in and around Boston and state historical society, state and private university, and large, public library collections in the other New England states.

This volume lists more than 1,700 book and pamphlet titles. Card catalogs and shelf lists were the primary tools used to identify these items.

Many New England titles are cataloged by libraries as regional subdivisions of main subject headings. The editor searched under "New England" and a long list of subjects in each collection. At Boston University, which recently has adopted electronic cataloging, he also searched every title containing "New England," "Northeast," "Puritan," and a number of other key words. Once identified from cataloging records, the books and pamphlets were examined and then cited. Most libraries granted stack privileges, and those that did not were uniformly cooperative in paging materials.

Periodicals

Magazine and journal articles account for nearly half of the entries in this volume, some 1,900 titles in all. A number of national, regional, and local serials have been searched systematically throughout the series. These periodicals, while by no means the only ones cited in the series, have formed the core of our serials coverage. We have updated and expanded the search of these core materials as part of the work on each bibliography.

In compiling this volume, a number of recent articles were identified through the use of several current bibliographical publications: *America: History and Life*, published in four parts each year by ABC-Clío; the American Historical Association's *Writings on American History*, published annually; and that organization's *Recently Published Articles*, which appears three times a year. Other compiled lists of recent articles, which appear regularly in such historical periodicals as the *Journal of American History* and the *Journal of the Early Republic*, were also useful. A review of the early volumes of *Writings on American History*, which date back to 1902, was helpful in identifying some earlier articles, as was a search of the bibliographies of New England history published annually in the *New England Quarterly* from 1928 through 1966. Several specialized bibliographies, including one by David Starbuck on the historical archaeology of the Northeast,¹ and the thematic bibliographies published in recent issues of the annual *Dublin Seminar Proceedings*, were useful on specific subjects.

Many of the periodicals cited in this volume are widely available; others are more difficult to find.

¹See entry 112 in this volume.

Except for articles in a few local and ephemeral serials, nearly all of the periodical entries listed here were found in one or more of the following: New England state libraries and state historical societies; New England state and private university libraries; the Boston Public Library; and other research collections in the Boston, New Haven, and Worcester areas.

A basic tool for identifying libraries that own sets of a particular periodical is the five-volume *Union List of Serials in Libraries of the United States and Canada* (3d ed., 1965). Also useful in our search were two consortium lists, available on microfiche in member institutions, which list the periodical holdings of universities and colleges in the Boston and Amherst-Northampton, Massachusetts, areas. A union list of serials in libraries in the Worcester, Massachusetts, area was also useful,² as were OCLC records of periodical holdings in that national cataloging service's member libraries. Online Computer Library Center (OCLC) has hundreds of university, research and public libraries among its subscribers.

Dissertations

Most of the dissertations cited here were identified by searching the following bibliographical publications of University Microfilms, which is located in Ann Arbor, Michigan: *Comprehensive Dissertation Index* (CDI), published in series for 1861–1972, 1973–1982, and annually since 1983; *Dissertation Abstracts International* (DAI), which is published monthly; and *American Doctoral Dissertations*, an annual publication. These are usually available in universities that have strong graduate programs. The dissertation titles in CDI are grouped under thousands of key words, including place names and the names of individuals. The DAI listings are organized by discipline, and those in *American Doctoral Dissertations* by discipline and institution. We searched the latter two publications under American Studies, Anthropology, Archaeology, Architecture, Economics, Education, Fine Arts, History, Literature, Music, Political Science, Religion, and other disciplines in the humanities and social sciences.

Some universities, including Harvard, have begun only in recent years to contribute complete information about dissertations to the University

²Worcester Area Cooperating Libraries, *Worcester Area Union List of Serials* (Worcester, Mass., 1987), 2v.

Microfilms program. We identified some important dissertations through our own search in the Harvard Archives. Other titles were found in the bibliographies of individual dissertations; in Warren F. Kuehl's *Dissertations in History* (1965 and 1972);³ and in an important bibliography of dissertations relating to early New England: Michael S. Montgomery's *American Puritan Studies* (1984), entry 1 in this volume.

The Montgomery bibliography describes in some detail a number of dissertations not abstracted in DAI. In this volume, we refer the reader wherever possible to DAI for the information contained in the abstract and, in many cases, an order number that can be used to purchase a photocopy or microfilm copy of the dissertation. In instances where a dissertation is listed in Montgomery and not in DAI, we refer to Montgomery for further information. We also refer to the published—usually revised—version of a dissertation when such is known to exist.

We were able to examine the originals of dissertations in the archives of a number of New England universities. We also found photocopies of some titles in other library collections. In other cases, the citations and data listed here were gathered from DAI and the other University Microfilms publications mentioned above, and from Montgomery, Kuehl, and OCLC cataloging records.

Theses

In planning the scope of volumes 7 and 8, CNEB members voted to include, along with dissertations, a limited number of "recommended" masters' theses. While recognizing that it would be impossible to compile a comprehensive listing within the time constraints of the project, the committee decided that the inclusion of some titles would add to the value of the bibliography. Theses in some cases represent the best or only available scholarship on a particular subject. A few theses are listed in this volume, and many more in Volume 8.

Format and Citations

This volume is organized by subjects. In setting up the specific categories, we borrowed from sev-

eral bibliographical models and tried to combine headings so as to emphasize the major contours of the region's historiography. Each title in the bibliography is cited only once, even if it relates to more than one subject. The index, which can be used to find additional entries for a particular heading, lists a great many subjects in addition to those under which the entries are organized.

Under each subject, entries are arranged alphabetically. Works by the same author are listed in alphabetical order by title, followed by any titles by that author and a collaborator. A dash at the beginning of an entry means that the work was written by the author of the preceding entry. Authors' names are listed as they appear on title pages or as determined from sources such as the *National Union Catalog* (NUC) and Library of Congress and OCLC cataloging. Thus, if the title page provides only a middle initial, and the middle name is later found in one of these other sources, we supply the middle name.

Author and corporate-author entries have been preferred in most cases. Edited and compiled works, however, are given a title entry, unless it is clear from the text that a "compiler" should in fact be regarded as an author. Otherwise, the editor's or compiler's name follows the title.

Titles or imprints, when not shown on the title page or verso, appear in brackets. Where there is more than one edition, the most recent or best one is cited, and the date of the first edition, if known, appears in parentheses after the title. Pagination indicates the last numbered page; substantial unnumbered pages are shown in brackets.

In this volume and in Volume 8, we provide a library location for each book and pamphlet entry and for copies of dissertations and theses owned by libraries other than those of the universities and colleges where they were written. We cite wherever possible a major collection in New England. Other collections cited, in order of preference, are: smaller libraries in New England; the Library of Congress; and, in a few cases where a work is known to exist but is not known to be in any of the above collections, another non-New England library. Standard library symbols are used. For a list of those cited in this volume, see Location Symbols.

Prior to the publication of the Rhode Island volume in 1983, we supplied locations only for books and pamphlets not listed in any of the various

³Warren F. Kuehl, *Dissertations in History: an Index to Dissertations Completed in History Departments of United States and Canadian Universities* (Lexington, Ky.: Univ. of Kentucky Pr., 1965–1972), 2v.

editions of the NUC. That publication, however, is not readily accessible to some of our readers; it has become increasingly cumbersome to search; and it sometimes fails to list locations that most of our readers would find useful. We continue to check our book and pamphlet listings against the NUC's listings and provide a plus sign (+) to identify titles found there. Readers who wish to consult that source for other library locations may find the effort rewarding.

We also have made use of OCLC cataloging records in this volume to verify citations and help to identify library holdings. OCLC is used by a number of large libraries, and we have found it easier and more productive to use than recent editions of the NUC. OCLC provides bibliographical information on a significant number of book and pamphlet titles cited in this volume, especially the more recent ones. In many cases, it also lists a sizable number of libraries that own a particular title.

Index

The index lists authors, editors, and compilers. It also provides access to scores of subjects in addition to those under which the entries are grouped. Where the contents of a work are strongly oriented toward particular New England states, that information is noted in the index.

Acknowledgments

A great many individuals and organizations assisted the editor. While it would be impossible to recognize all of them individually, special thanks should go to Connell Gallagher and David Ruell, who provided a number of titles pertaining in part to their states while assisting with the Vermont and New Hampshire sections of Volume 8. Thanks also to the library staffs of the following institutions: American Antiquarian Society, Boston Athenaeum, Boston College, Boston Public Library, Boston University, Clark University, Connecticut Historical Society, Connecticut State Library, Dartmouth College, Essex Institute, Harvard University, Maine Historical Society, Maine State Library, Massachusetts State Library, Mystic Seaport, New England Historic Genealogical Society, New Hampshire Historical Society, New Hampshire State Library, New Haven Colony Historical Society, Old Sturbridge Village, Rhode

Island Historical Society, Vermont Historical Society, Worcester (Mass.) Public Library, Yale University, and the main campus libraries of the universities of Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, and Vermont.

Boston University's Academic Computing Center again provided valuable services. William Marshall, formerly of that facility's staff, continued to serve as programming consultant. Chris Kittle programmed the final copy and supervised its production. Computerization of the series began with the Rhode Island volume in 1983.

Jennifer Phillips, a graduate student in Boston University's American and New England Studies Program, was the editor's graduate assistant during three semesters in 1986 and 1987 and also spent three summers working full-time for the project. She helped track down missing data, assisted with the serials search, checked book titles against NUC and OCLC listings, searched for recently published book titles in a number of Boston-area libraries, and helped to proofread the entries and index. Michael Bedeau served as graduate assistant during three semesters in 1987 and 1988. Barbara Nachtigall, an employee of Boston University's Archaeology Department, assisted with final proofreading. She had worked as a research assistant in the preparation of the Connecticut volume.

Future Additions to the Series

With the publication of volumes 7 and 8 in 1989, the CNEB has completed the task it set for itself in the early 1970s of compiling comprehensive bibliographies of the history of New England and each of the six New England states. In order to preserve and increase the value of the nearly two decades of scholarship that have gone into the series, the committee at this writing was pursuing plans to continue the updating process begun in Volume 8. As CNEB chairman A. L. Morris states in the preface to this work, we believe we will be able to publish a volume of further additions and corrections to the state and regional bibliographies by 1994 or 1995. The present editor expects to continue the work on a part-time basis. Suggestions for additions and corrections may be sent to: Roger Parks, Nathanael Greene Papers, Rhode Island Historical Society, 110 Benevolent Street, Providence, RI 02906.

April 1989

Roger Parks

Reassessing the Local History of New England

In the middle decades of the nineteenth century Americans awakened to their past. Throughout the nation, they turned back to remember and preserve. The power of this movement was felt deeply in New England. Here was founded the first state historical society; here, with few exceptions, every town became the subject of a local history. The consequences of this movement are apparent in the New England Bibliography series. What may be less apparent, though deserving of reflection, is why the impulse to write local history emerged in the nineteenth century, and what has happened to it since. Ours is an essay about the unfolding of this special version of the past.

We seek to place the rise of local history in perspective. One way of doing so is to compare and contrast the work of nineteenth-century writers with that of their predecessors. The people we call Puritans were prolific in describing their conquest of the wilderness. Two writers in the middle of the eighteenth century, Thomas Prince and Thomas Hutchinson, used with care the sources that were known to them. A group of writers who were energized by America's attainment of independence told the story of each New England state. Nineteenth-century antiquarians depended on these predecessors. Yet as we will see, their work was also sharply different. Noting, as we shall, certain continuities, we will argue that nineteenth-century writers had a special understanding of the past and therefore a distinctive concept of their task as antiquarians.

Emerging strongly in the first half of the nineteenth century, the impulse to write local history was sustained beyond the Civil War. Indeed the flow of publications reached its height as the century ended. But if we look more closely at these

decades we see signs of change. The decline of local history was mirrored in a shifting relationship between writers and their audience. More crucially, by 1900 a new kind of local history was emerging from the research university. A fictional episode, a scene in John P. Marquand's satirical novel of Boston upper-class life, *The Late George Apley* (1937), suggests how the older style of local history fell from favor among cosmopolitans: Apley, a newly elected member of a literary society, reads a paper chronicling the history of a single plot of land in Boston—a paper we are to perceive as pointless and sterile.¹

From this low point, local history would stage a remarkable recovery after 1960. Under the new name of "community studies," it has returned to the forefront of professional or academic history. This revival deserves close attention, both for what it has accomplished and for what it may suggest as future possibilities. The New England Bibliography series embodies a great past, the nineteenth-century movement we have spoken of, and owes its own existence to a reawakened interest in "community." How it will be used, and where it points us, are questions we hope to address.²

PART ONE: THE RISE AND FALL OF A GREAT TRADITION

When William Whitmore contributed an essay on "American Genealogies" to the *North American*

¹John P. Marquand, *The Late George Apley* (Boston, 1937), chap. 12.

²Previous studies of the rise of history-writing in the nineteenth century include David D. Van Tassel, *Recording America's Past* (Chicago, 1960), and George Callcott, *History in the United States, 1800–1860: Its Practice and Purpose* (Baltimore, 1970).

Review in 1856, his doing so signaled that the movement we have spoken of was well under way. Whitmore cited eighty-two published family histories and referred his readers to another ninety published in the pages of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*.³ All of this activity was very recent. The *Register* was ten years old in 1856. Its parent society, founded in 1845, was the first of its kind in the country. Before 1820, no one in New England had paid any heed to genealogy. Now it seemed essential. Much else was also happening in these decades. A notable accomplishment, and one that remains unsurpassed, was the publishing of documents. In 1850 J. Hammond Trumbull initiated the fifteen-volume series *The Public Records of Connecticut*. Nathaniel Shurtleff followed with the five-volume folio *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, and John Russell Bartlett with the ten-volume *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in New England*.⁴

These grand projects were accompanied by many smaller triumphs. We cite a few at random. In the 1840s a group of like-minded citizens of Dorchester, Massachusetts, organized themselves as the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society and began to issue their *Collections*, reprinting two important seventeenth-century texts, one the *Memoirs of Roger Clap*, and publishing Richard Mather's journal of his voyage to New England. In 1845 certain citizens of Essex County, Massachusetts, were moved to establish the Essex Institute, the first organization in the United States to devote itself to the history of a county. It too issued *Collections*, and although the Dorchester Society ceased to publish after 1850, the Institute's have appeared in an unbroken series since 1860. A man of means in Hartford, George Brinley, was quietly assembling an extraordinary library of rare New England imprints. No one was more active in these early years than John Farmer, a Massachusetts native who relocated to New Hampshire. To him is credited the first independently published local history, his brief history of Billerica, Massachusetts, which appeared in 1816.⁵

³[William H. Whitmore], "American Genealogies," *North American Review*, 82 (Apr. 1856), 469–77. The rise of genealogy is traced in Robert Taylor and Ralph Crandall, *Generations and Change* (Macon, Ga., 1986).

⁴Similar series would publish the records of Plymouth, New Hampshire, and New Haven colonies.

⁵Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, *Collections*, 3 vols., 1844–1850; *Catalogue of the American Library of the late Mr. George Brinley*, Part I (Hartford, Conn., 1878); John Farmer, *An Historical Memoir of Billerica, in Massachusetts* (Amherst, N.H., 1816).

But let us turn away from "firsts" to sketch a general profile of production. Using, as our data, the separately published town histories listed in Jeremiah Colburn's pioneering *Bibliography of the Local History of Massachusetts*,⁶ we can trace the rapid development of the genre: five such books appeared in the 1820s, fourteen in the 1830s, seventeen in the 1840s, eleven in the 1850s, and thirteen in the 1860s, for a total of sixty histories of as many Massachusetts towns. Using a quite different body of data, the some four hundred works of New England local history in the Boston University Library, we find that production reached its peak in the 1880s, though it remained strong for the next few decades.⁷ We may draw three conclusions from these different sets of figures. The first and most important is that local history arose suddenly about 1820 and made rapid progress thereafter. A second is that, once launched, the enterprise was sustained throughout the century. A third is that decay—or more neutrally, a changing relationship between authors, publishers, and the local community—is increasingly apparent after 1880. The satire in *The Late George Apley* coincided with a distinct waning of the local history movement.

It may be false romanticism to regard the pre-Civil War publications as more truly local and heroic. What is certain is that, in those early decades, the impulse to remember and preserve was connected to a special sense of place and time. Something happened to direct the imagination of New Englanders to their past. The most celebrated outcome of this process was a burst of poetry and fiction that included Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter*. Much less famous, though surely kin to novels like *The Scarlet Letter*, was the flood tide of local history.

Nothing like this had happened in the eighteenth century. To be sure, the colonists and revolutionary generation had prepared the way in important respects. Across the decades and the centuries, a handful of visionary individuals had gathered up and preserved essential documents. Let us, then, acknowledge the two Mathers, Increase and Cotton, who deserve recognition as the first persons in New England to collect documents systematically. Another Boston minister,

⁶Jeremiah Colburn, *Bibliography of the Local History of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1871).

⁷I owe this statistic to John Hermanson, who developed it as part of a research paper on the place of material culture in the local history tradition.

Thomas Prince (1687–1758) was even more ambitious in aspiring to amass “every Book, Pamphlet, and Paper, both in Print and Manuscript,” that might “have any Tendency to enlighten our History.”⁸ On the eve of the American Revolution, two men shared a similar ambition. Thomas Hutchinson was a high-placed figure in Massachusetts politics and a descendant of the “Antinomian” Anne Hutchinson, expelled from the colony in 1638. The documents that he was able to collect and use in writing his *History of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay* (1764) included the “Report” of his ancestor’s “trial” before the Massachusetts General Court and depositions from the Salem witchcraft cases. Some of these texts he gathered up and published separately in *A Collection of Original Papers*. Ezra Stiles, a minister in Newport, Rhode Island, was equally active in collecting copies and originals of a host of texts—John Winthrop’s journal history and Thomas Shepard’s diary, to name but two examples—for a history of New England that he never wrote. Time (and rival collectors) were not kind to Prince’s great collection, and a Stamp Act mob that sacked Governor Hutchinson’s house threw his precious documents into Boston’s muddy streets.⁹

As yet, however, no one was proposing to print merely local records. Nor did any of these collector-historians wish to limit themselves to a single community. In comparing them to their successors in the nineteenth century, we must keep in mind the audience for which they wrote and the role they saw as proper for historians. As in eighteenth-century England, so here in New England history bore the stamp of learned culture. Proper history was “philosophical” in undertaking to illuminate broad principles of moral and civil society. Cosmopolitan in its ideal form, history appealed to the kinds of people who subscribed in the 1730s (that is, agreed in advance to buy copies) to Prince’s *Chronological History of New England* (1736): by and large, a provincial gentry of clergy, merchants, lawyers, and civil servants.

⁸Clifford K. Shipton, *Sibley’s Harvard Graduates*, vol. 5: *Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes 1701–1712* (Boston, 1937), p. 342.

⁹*Ibid.* Ezra Stiles’s activities as collector and historian are described in Edmund S. Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan: A Life of Ezra Stiles, 1727–1795* (New Haven, 1962). The fate of Thomas Hutchinson’s manuscripts is described in Lawrence Shaw Mayo, ed., *The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay, by Thomas Hutchinson* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), I, pp. xiv–xv.

The book sold poorly outside this restricted clientele.¹⁰

Yet Prince could not imagine writing for a different audience. Because he aspired to write something grander than mere local history, he began with an account of the history of the world from the moment of Creation. As one of his biographers has noted, he made “practically no use . . . of the unique mass of local materials which he had gathered.”¹¹ At the very end of the eighteenth century, the early workings of the Massachusetts Historical Society reveal a similar reluctance to focus on the truly local. In 1791 the ten founders initially named their organization the “Historical Society,” a name appropriate to an organization that would encompass all of American history. Though “Massachusetts” was added to the name in 1794, when a charter was secured from the state, the Society did not restrict its *Collections* to Massachusetts material until well into the nineteenth century.

Something had to change before local history as we find it in the middle of the nineteenth century became possible. But before we speak directly of what changed, let us look more carefully at the narrative traditions (or literary models) that informed histories of New England written before 1800. Three such models can be identified: topographical description, the tradition of “annals,” and providential history.

Eighteenth-century English gentlemen liked to read and write “topographical descriptions.” This mode of narration was so well established that by 1818 the listings in William Upcott’s *Bibliographical Account of the Principal Works Relating to English Topography* filled three large volumes. Beneath the rubric of “topography,” Englishmen who often styled themselves “Antiquarians” wrote about everything from natural history and funeral monuments to architecture and church history. In doing so they wrote for others like themselves, persons of education and standing who had a taste for “curiosities” and “relics.” This was not the same, however, as a taste for history. The difference is clear if we turn to the many brief “topographical descriptions” that members and correspondents of the Massachusetts Historical Society, imitating British precedents, published in the early volumes of the Society’s *Collections*. The

¹⁰The subscribers to Prince’s *History* are identified in Samuel Adams Drake, *Some Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Rev. T. Prince* (Boston, 1851).

¹¹Shipton, *Sibley’s Harvard Graduates*, vol. 5, p. 355.

anonymous author of "Notes on Compton [Rhode Island]" followed the conventions of the form in describing, topic by topic, "boundaries," "soil," "windmills," "natural history," "roads," "health," "longevity," and "ecclesiastical affairs."¹² Thaddeus Mason Harris, the minister of Dorchester, introduced a swatch of history into his "Chronological and Topical Account" of that town. But much of what he thought of as history took the form of lists, with the church as center of attention. The implied reader of these sketches was someone interested in knowing who had gone to Harvard from a town, and who had served as ministers. The present dominated, not the past.¹³

Some of these descriptions were indebted to a second narrative tradition, that of annals. Practiced in antiquity, reborn in the middle ages, and surviving to this day in publications like the *World Almanac*, the "chronicle" or "annals" represented the past as a sequence of events, all of them arranged by date. The writers who fashioned history in this form did not think of theirs as an easy task. They had to reconcile the sources they consulted and align the dating system that came in with Christianity with pagan or dynastic schemes. All this was important because, in the words of Thomas Prince, the end result was a pleasing order and precision: "It is the orderly succession of these transactions and events, as they fell precisely out in time, too much neglected by our historians, that for some years past, I have taken the greatest pains to search and find. . . ." And as he went on to say, dates were exact facts—facts that often were misstated by "historians" who preferred to dress up their data with "artificial ornaments and descriptions to raise the imagination and affections of the reader." What Prince had to offer was something lesser in one sense, though greater in another: "only facts in a chronological epitome." Indeed he had so many facts—in part because, as we have noted, he began with creation—that by the time he finally reached the founding of New England he had to stop in 1632!¹⁴

Minister that he was, Prince also thought of history as manifesting the "providence" of God. In his preface he sounded an old theme in de-

claring that the "design" of his work would encompass "the most remarkable Providences: such as appearances of comets and eclipses, earthquakes, tempests, inundations, droughts . . . [and] memorable accidents and deliverances. . . ."¹⁵ Half a century before him, in the early 1680s, Increase Mather had spoken similarly in *An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences*. The crucial assumption behind these texts was that history manifested the work of redemption: creation, the fall, and God's intervention to redeem the fallen. More especially, history was the record of supernatural interventions to protect the godly and to punish evil-doers. The task of the historian was to keep track of these interventions and, by doing so, maintain warnings or "memorials" that would help to keep a people godly. The earliest of the providential histories to be written in New England, William Bradford's *Of Plymouth Plantation*, celebrates the triumph of the "Pilgrims" over their enemies even as it also laments the decay of community.¹⁶

Fortunately for us the providential historians incorporated a great deal of information about politics, religion, the economy, and social behavior in and among the tales of "remarkables" or "wonders." It may have been the influence of the topographical tradition that led Edward Johnson to include brief descriptions of each town in a book that is known by its running title: *Wonder-Working Providence of Sions Saviour in New England* (1654). John Winthrop, for many years the governor of Massachusetts, employed the format of "annals" (as did Johnson and Bradford) in describing a broad sweep of events, though what interested him especially was the politics in which he was so much involved. Others were more interested in ecclesiastical affairs. The chief historian of the New England churches was Cotton Mather. The *Magnalia Christi Americana* ("The wondrous works of Christ in America"), Mather's massive history of New England, described in detail the evolution of the "New England Way," or Congregationalism, and provided short biographies of many of the ministers. For Mather, the "church" was properly the focus of attention for two reasons: the very founding of New England arose from the ambition to create a purified or

¹²Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 1st Ser., 9 (1804), 199–206.

¹³Thaddeus Mason Harris, "Chronological and Topographical Account of Dorchester," *ibid.*, 147–197.

¹⁴Thomas Prince, *A Chronological History of New-England, in the Form of Annals* (1736; repr., Boston, 1826), pp. vii, xiii, xix–xx.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. xiii–xiv.

¹⁶Not published until the middle of the nineteenth century, yet read by some of his contemporaries: William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation* (Modern Library edition, New York, 1981).

“primitive” church order; and in chronicling the progress of the church the historian was telling the most important story of them all, the work of redemption.¹⁷

All three of these narrative traditions—the providential, the “annals,” and topographical description—remained influential in the nineteenth century. The least influential of the three was providential history. In the early eighteenth century the concept of an active God who interfered with nature to produce “special providences” fell into disfavor as scientists and philosophers articulated a world view in which general laws operated uniformly throughout nature—laws that God supported and indeed created, but also laws he left alone once the system was up and running. This new way of thinking helped make Prince’s *Chronological History* a very different kind of book from the *Magnalia*: the reports of “wonders” that filled an entire section of that book were largely missing from Prince’s narrative. A generation later, Thomas Hutchinson made no reference to providence at all, and the concept was conspicuously absent in the “revolutionary” histories written in the closing decades of the eighteenth century.¹⁸ Displaced from learned or elite culture, an age-old fascination with portents and prodigies survived within popular religion and popular culture. It survived as well in the “curiosities” and “Natural Wonders” that were described in many of the nineteenth-century local histories.¹⁹

Another part of this tradition that survived well into the nineteenth century was a fascination with ecclesiastical history. The lives of ministers that filled the pages of the *Magnalia Christi Americana* were replicated in the thousands of statistics compiled by John Farmer, and in chapters on church foundings and development that became a standard feature of town histories.²⁰ Some of the older parishes or congregations in New England had records rich enough to merit separate publi-

cation, or to be described in an independent history. This interest in the past was abetted by the conflict that erupted after 1820 among the descendants of the Puritans as some moved into Unitarianism. Daniel White, a Unitarian, resurrected the early history of the Salem congregation—the first to be organized in Puritan New England—in the hope of demonstrating that its founders did not impose a fixed creed on the members. White’s *New England Congregationalism In Its Origin And Purity: Illustrated By the Foundation and Early Records Of The First Church In Salem* thus emerged out of partisan polemics.²¹ Orthodoxy had an early representative in Leonard Bacon, minister of New Haven Center Church, and in writers who arose to defend the Mathers. But perhaps its greatest figure was Henry Martyn Dexter, a Congregationalist minister turned bibliographer and book collector. The Dexter Collection (Yale University Library) has nurtured many students of American Puritanism, and although the massive bibliography appended to Dexter’s *The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years* has been superseded, it remains a resource. The finest of these works of church history—Perry Miller was not alone in thinking it “admirable”—was Hamilton Hill’s two-volume *History of the Old South Church*, which reprints all of the essential documents relating to the founding of that Boston church.²²

The persistence of the narrative tradition of “annals” is immediately apparent to anyone who browses among nineteenth-century local histories. Joseph Felt, a minister at the time he wrote a history of his native town, *The Annals of Salem, From Its First Settlement*,²³ produced an extreme (that is to say, almost unreadable) version of the form. The main topics in Nathaniel Adams’s *Annals of Portsmouth* were public events, wars, and ecclesiastical affairs; of social history as we under-

¹⁷See in general Kenneth Murdock, *Literature and Theology in Colonial New England* (1949; Harper Torchbooks reprint, New York, 1963), and David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England* (New York, 1989), chap. 2.

¹⁸Lester H. Cohen, *The Revolutionary Histories: Contemporary Narratives of the American Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1980), chaps. 1–2.

¹⁹Cf. John Farmer and J. B. Moore, eds., *Collections, Historical and Miscellaneous, and Monthly Literary Journal* (Concord, N.H.), vol. 2 (1823).

²⁰John Farmer, *An Ecclesiastical Register of New-Hampshire* (Concord, N.H., 1821).

²¹The story of sectarian conflict and its impact on conceptions of the New England past is narrated in Lawrence Buell, *New England Literary Culture from Revolution through Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1986), chap. 9.

²²Leonard Bacon, *Thirteen Historical Discourses, on the Completion of Two Hundred Years, from the Beginning of the First Church in New Haven* (New Haven, 1839); Hamilton A. Hill, *History of the Old South Church* (2 vols.; Boston, 1890); the characterization of “admirable” was Williston Walker’s in *The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism* (New York, 1893), p. 405; Perry Miller voiced his admiration in *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 451.

²³Joseph B. Felt, *The Annals of Salem, from its First Settlement* (Salem, Mass., 1827).

stand it there was almost nothing. A great many other books had “annals” in the title or used the form for want of any other. A late example that we cite more for reasons of filio piety than for those of merit was George Drisko’s *Narrative of the Town of Machias* (1904).²⁴

The third of these traditions, topographical description, became, like church history, a standard feature of the better local studies. By midcentury it was common for these books to open with a chapter on the natural landscape and then go on to speak of roads and other man-made features. A variation was to trace the shifting features of a town or city, as Annie Haven Thwing did for Boston in *The Crooked & Narrow Streets of the Town of Boston, 1630–1822*.²⁵

To note the persistence of these narrative traditions is important. Yet it leaves us short of explaining what was special about local history in the nineteenth century. We have pointed out already one feature of this movement, an explosion in the numbers of such books that were being published. Something else exploded that may serve as an important clue: the size of local histories. The descriptions published in the *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society before 1820 ran to little more than ten or fifteen pages, and when Abiel Holmes published *The History of Cambridge* in 1803, it was all of 40 pages. John Farmer’s *Historical Memoir of Billerica* (1816) encompassed a mere 36 pages. Histories of a state were substantial volumes, but not histories of a town or church. But a famous saying becomes relevant: “après moi, le déluge!” The histories published in the 1820s ran, in general, to some three hundred pages, an astonishing shift in scale. So did many of their successors. When the Reverend Henry Hazen’s *History of Billerica* was published in 1883, its five hundred pages represented a twelvefold increase from the size of Farmer’s work of 1816.²⁶ The difference between two successive editions of Frances Manwaring Caulkins’s *History of Norwich, Connecticut* is another case in point. The original edition, which she published in 1845, ran to 359 pages. The second, revised, edition, which she issued in 1866,

swelled to 704 pages. By the 1880s, moreover, the antiquarian community was producing collaborative histories like the four-volume folio *Memorial History of Boston*.²⁷ These illustrations serve to make a crucial point: after 1820 the scale and scope of local history changed dramatically.

How can we explain this change? Without doubt, the single most important reason was a new sense of the relationship between the present and the past. But let us first consider a more limited or specific set of differences.

Genealogy is a good place to begin, for the decision to include family histories added greatly to the bulk of local studies written after 1840. To return for a moment to firsts, it is worth observing that the first independently published genealogy appeared in 1819. John Farmer, the undoubted “father” of this field of research, began to publish his short-lived *Genealogical Register* in 1828. We have already mentioned the founding of the New England Historic Genealogical Society in 1845, and of its *Register* in 1847. Soon thereafter a Boston antiquarian, James Savage, embarked on *A Genealogical Dictionary of The First Settlers of New England*. It was in the 1840s that historians of individual towns began to include family histories; they appeared in Caulkins’s *History of Norwich* and in Justin Winsor’s *History of The Town of Duxbury* (1849).

Another reason for the leap in scale of local history was a new attention to community records. It quickly became common to include substantial portions of the earliest of these records to survive: lists detailing the distribution of land grants, town meeting minutes, the minister’s account of baptisms, deaths, and cases of church discipline.

A third reason for the change in scale of local history was a new interest in Native Americans. To be sure, this interest was present in the *Magnalia*, which devotes an entire “Book” to retelling the “Wars of the Lord,” from the settlers’ slaughtering of the Pequots in 1637 to the prolonged struggle of King Philip’s War and the border raids that resumed in 1689. It survived in another literary form, the “captivity narratives” that printers turned into a form of popular culture. Yet by and large the details of these wars did not appeal

²⁴Nathaniel Adams, *Annals of Portsmouth* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1825); George Drisko, *Narrative of the Town of Machias* (Machias, Me., 1904).

²⁵Annie Haven Thwing, *The Crooked & Narrow Streets of the Town of Boston, 1630–1822* (Boston, 1920).

²⁶Henry A. Hazen, *History of Billerica, Massachusetts, with a Genealogical Register* (Boston, 1883).

²⁷Caulkins, *History of Norwich, Connecticut: From Its Settlement in 1660, to January 1845* (Norwich, Conn., 1845) and *History of Norwich . . . to the Year 1866* ([Hartford], The Author, 1866); Justin Winsor, ed., *The Memorial History of Boston* (4 vols.; Boston, 1880–81).

to the more serious of our eighteenth-century historians. Then a shift of feeling occurred, a shift apparent as early as the 1820s in John Farmer's prescient *Periodical Miscellany*, which in the initial issue listed "Historical Sketches of Indian wars, battles and exploits; of the adventures and sufferings of the captives," as a main category of interest.²⁸ Thereafter, lengthy chapters on King Philip's War and its bloody sequels in the eighteenth century became increasingly common, to reach something of a climax in George Sheldon's extraordinary *History of Deerfield, Massachusetts* (1895–96), where he spent one hundred pages recounting the destruction of the town in 1704 and the fate of the captives.²⁹

Less certainly Sheldon, but for sure some of his contemporaries were responding to the example of Francis Parkman, a patrician who spent his life retelling the great struggle between France and Britain for control of the wilderness. Yet they may have owed as much, or more, to Walter Scott. Inventor of the historical novel, Scott focused in such novels as *The Bride of Lamamora* on the contested border between England and Scotland. It is not far-fetched to suggest that Scott's theme of two great forces clashing to decide the fate of a nation—a theme that in his hands would energize a *local* version of the past—served to stimulate fresh interest in our border lands and the contest between whites and Indians.

Yet in listing these three changes we still fall short of explaining the explosion in the scale and scope of local history. To do so we must take account of a more elusive factor, a change in how the past itself was being perceived. The men and women who sought to reclaim the first centuries of New England history were moved to do so by a paradoxical relationship to the early centuries of New England history. On the one hand they felt a sense of distance from those times. For them the "Puritans" and "Pilgrims" were located in a past that was seen as "ancient." A telling adjective, this word suggests a disruption between past and present: the old or the ancient is like a different epoch, a world unto itself.³⁰ It may strike

us as curious that the very men and women so busy at describing the first settlers and the revolutionaries of 1776—so busy, as it were, in filling up the past—felt cut off from the generations that preceded them. To us these writers seem like authentic witnesses to a past from which we are truly severed. Yet if we look sideways at the writers and poets who in the same decades were writing about the Pilgrims and the Puritans—writers such as Whittier, Longfellow, and Stowe, not to mention scores of others—the sense of distance, the struggle to re-imagine a lost world, become instantly apparent. We wish to insist that the experience of the antiquarians was no different from the experience of these writers. Yet on the other hand, and again in keeping with some of the fiction writers, the antiquarian community felt a strong sense of kinship with what came before. Local history was premised on a concept of ancestry, or of how the past was prologue to the present. Distance, but also closeness—this paradox pervades and in some sense was the source of the great flowering of the genre.

We do well to remember that this nineteenth-century effort to re-imagine a lost world gave us the Puritans not as they *really* were, but as a mixture of invention and fact interlaced with nineteenth-century values. The literary historian Lawrence Buell, the most astute commentator on the historical imagination of New England writers, has proposed that this process involved an "emotional identification" with the past, but also an awareness of how "alien" to the nineteenth century the Puritans had become. "It reminds us," Buell writes,

of the ever widening gap between our period's writers and the Puritans with whom or against whom they aligned themselves, whether or not they acknowledged that gap. It further suggests that the extremes of hostility and filiopietism that the Puritans provoked in their descendants were equally symptomatic of the historical distance between the eras and of the necessity of bridging that distance through projective myth. . . .

This awareness of distance and discontinuity liberated the imagination both of those who became antiquarians and of those who turned to poetry and fiction. It was the poignancy of distance that wrapped the past in mystery and "romance," and made it so intriguing to explore.³¹

²⁸Preface, *Periodical Miscellany*.

²⁹George Sheldon, 1636—Pocumtuck—1886: *A History of Deerfield, Massachusetts: The Times When and the People by Whom It was Settled, Unsettled and Resettled: With a Special Study of the Indian Wars* (2 vols.; Deerfield, Mass., 1895–96).

³⁰E.g., in Royal R. Hinman, *A Catalogue of the Names of the First Puritan Settlers of . . . Connecticut* (Hartford, 1846), p. 9: "The book is now a curiosity of ancient days."

³¹Buell, *New England Literary Culture*, p. 194.

Armed with this suggestion, we may find a fresh significance in the prefaces in which local historians talked about the past and their motives for returning to it. Three recurring themes are especially revealing: the imperiled condition of local records, including oral lore; the pace of change, and the emigration to other parts of America by so many sons and daughters of a town. But perhaps the most interesting consequence of a felt distance from the past was a new appreciation of "customs." Each of these topics deserves consideration in turn.

Here is the historian of New Britain, Connecticut, commenting on the documentary evidence: "It has been the endeavor to preserve the memory of local events, traditions, and enterprise, and of notable persons; to glean from old records, from perishable manuscripts, crumbling monuments, and the memory of the aged, material which would soon be lost. . . ." ³² Almost universally these nineteenth-century antiquarians present themselves as intervening at a crucial moment to rescue from neglect such records. We have to understand these statements both as fact—many records were indeed imperiled—and as a way of setting off the past from the present, of emphasizing distance. They are like the "Customs House" introduction to *The Scarlet Letter* in which Hawthorne tells of finding a cache of old documents in the attic of the Salem Customs House: at the outset, these statements tell us that we are about to enter a quite different world.

The past and the present are set off from one another by the pace of change in the nineteenth century. The genealogies describe families that took root and flourished in a town, but that now are dying out. The very landscape is evolving with a speed that defies the imagination. Indeed the past is "crumbling" as death and emigration remove those who used to live here: "The original settlers of this street had all passed away. Some of the old families were represented by their descendants, but in many instances the old homesteads had passed into other hands, and new names were connected with these first farms of New Britain." So spoke the historian of New Britain. And here is the historian of Norwich: "In this part of Norwich since 1835 the advance in the style of buildings, both public and private, has

been surprisingly rapid,—almost like the changes of imagery in an enchanter's mirror. . . . So great are the transformations, that absentees of fifteen or twenty years, on returning are embarrassed in endeavoring to trace out their former haunts." ³³ Change seemed overwhelming in its pace and consequences.

With remarkable unanimity the nineteenth-century antiquarians keep referring to a social fact, the exodus of people from New England. Many of the people Ellen Larned knew in her youth in Windham County, Connecticut, became movers—indeed, so many that she devoted a chapter in her county history to "The Army of Emigrants." ³⁴ An earlier generation had gone to the metropolis of New York or to upstate regions like the Genesee Valley, thereby prompting Rufus King's remark that the New York Constitutional Convention of 1821 contained more native sons of Connecticut than of New York itself. By the 1840s the "wanderers," as they are labeled in a centennial address for the town of Middletown, Connecticut, ³⁵ have scattered far across the country. For those who stayed behind, their leaving became cause and symbol of the ever-widening distance between past and present. More sons and daughters now live elsewhere than in their old town. Should they be thought of carrying good New England values to the wider world, or as having betrayed their community? Is it possibly this migration that imperils the old records, since no one seems to care about the past?

A sure sign of rupture from the past was a new curiosity about New England "customs" and "legends." Some of these customs had been noted by historians in the eighteenth century, though in general they regarded them as discredited and unfortunate "superstitions." ³⁶ But by the early decades of the nineteenth century a radically different way of perceiving these beliefs was beginning to emerge. Now they seemed to contain something of value—something peculiarly "native," and also very "old." As the Enlightenment gave way to Romanticism, so did "superstitions" give way to the categories of "folklore" and "legend."

³²*Ibid.*, p. 69; Caulkins, *History of Norwich* (1866), p. 24.

³³Ellen D. Larned, *History of Windham County, Connecticut* (2 vols.; Worcester, Mass., 1874–80), II, 586.

³⁴David D. Field, *Centennial Address, with Historical Sketches of Cromwell, . . . Middletown and Its Parishes* (Middletown, Conn., 1853), p. 20.

³⁵*The Diary of William Bentley* (4 vols.; Salem, Mass., 1905–14), III, 200.

³⁶David N. Camp, *History of New Britain* (New Britain, Conn., 1889), p. 4.

These categories suffuse the poetry and story-telling of John Greenleaf Whittier. In the preface to his earliest book, *Legends of New England*, Whittier announced that "the New World" was not "deficient in the elements of poetry," as some had argued, but "full of Romance": "The great forest which our fathers penetrated—the red men—their struggle and their disappearance— . . . the tale of superstition, and the scenes of Witchcraft,—all these are rich materials for poetry."³⁷ Whittier performed this alchemy in his own prose and poetry. Yet in doing so he reinscribed the distance between past and present; the old lore was "gone," and

*The roofless house, decayed, deserted,
Its living tenants all departed,
No longer rings with midnight revel
Of witch, or ghost, or goblin evil. . . .*³⁸

The same distance, the same recognition of a "world we have lost," informs the sympathetic descriptions of old customs that began to enter local histories—descriptions, say, of Sunday services, which, as one antiquarian remarked, would now seem so strange as to make us "smile . . . could these old times and customs be but once presented in reality."³⁹

Once again, however, distance seemed to liberate the antiquarian. In making the transition from regarding certain practices and beliefs as harmful "superstitions" to regarding them as quaint expressions of a bygone age, the local historian came into possession of a new body of material to preserve and retell. It was a transition Europeans were making early in the nineteenth century as they embarked on the search that Peter Burke has termed the "invention of the folk." The Brothers Grimm and Walter Scott were leaders in this movement, which, as Burke presents it, projected onto the "folk" certain traits or qualities that seemed missing in the present. Behind the discovery of the folk lay, therefore, a heightened sense of change—and loss.⁴⁰

To these four circumstances let us add a fifth. As historians of party ideology and party "myth"

³⁷Quoted in George Carey, "John Greenleaf Whittier and Folklore: The Search for a Traditional American Past," *New York Folklore Quarterly*, 27 (Mar. 1971), 114.

³⁸*The Poetical Works of John Greenleaf Whittier* (4 vols.; Boston, 1892), I, 23 (from "New England Legends").

³⁹[Frederic Kidder and Augustus A. Gould], *The History of New Ipswich [N.H.]* (Boston, 1852), p. 156.

⁴⁰Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1978), chap. 2.

have informed us, the Whigs in antebellum America were especially interested in the past. From their point of view the American who acknowledged the burden of the past—who felt himself responsible for sustaining what the founding fathers had begun and accomplished—would make a better citizen than someone lacking any sense of history. The great Whig orators such as Daniel Webster and Edward Everett wove a spell about the past that was meant to create bonds of "memory" that would curb a restless people.⁴¹ The same fear of unchecked freedom and unrestrained materialism moved "sentimental" writers to affirm the significance of "home." The antiquarians, most of whom were Whigs, participated in both of these programs. As one local writer put it, to issue local history was to "encourage a love of home: by its attraction, they draw back the wanderer to his birth—and quiet in a measure that restless spirit of" change.⁴²

The act of writing local history was therefore an act of restoring moral and social community, a restoration also taking place at the ritual moment when towns celebrated some great event. At these gatherings it was customary to announce that the audience "numbered . . . many of the sons of Union [Connecticut] now residing elsewhere."⁴³ Each town history embodied a literary parallel: everyone who read the book was once again enmeshed with the bonds of memory.

Here is the place, however, to recall the other side of distance from the past, the concept of ancestry. As Whigs, as antiquarians, as persons genuinely feeling a connection with what came before, local history writers could imagine—as Frances Caulkins did in the opening pages of her *History of New London*—the founders marveling at the progress of society:

How his [John Winthrop, Jr.'s] heart would beat, could he now stand upon that spot in the garb of mortality, with earthly feelings still yearning in his bosom, and survey the fair town which he first began to hew out of the wilderness! . . . But where he then saw only a confused mass of sterile rocks and stunted trees, or swamps and thickets, relieved only by a few Indian smokes that rose from their depths, there are now wharves, and

⁴¹Cf. J. V. Matthews, "'Whig History': The New England Whigs and a Usable Past," *New England Quarterly*, 51 (June 1978), 193–208.

⁴²Field, *Centennial Address*, p. 20.

⁴³Charles Hammond, *The History of Union, Conn.* (New Haven, 1893), p. 25.

spires, and fortresses; trains of cars gliding over iron tracks; hills furrowed with the cemeteries of the dead, and streets crowded with the mansions of the living.⁴⁴

Linking past and present via faith in progress, and attempting to affirm the bonds of memory for those who lived elsewhere, nineteenth-century antiquarians infused local history with deepfelt cultural politics.

They tell us this themselves. But in doing so they also confess their uncertainty. Will local history *really* work this way, or is it too minute to matter? Is theirs a fruitless task, a lonely occupation that removes them from the present?

The outcome of reflecting on such questions was a deep ambivalence about local history and the role of antiquarian. Let us listen once again to Frances Caulkins:

The author can but hope that some few readers—aged and lonely people, or those among the stirring and ardent, who turn reverently toward the past, the youth perchance whose curiosity is excited to know what has been done on this spot in older times, and the far off wanderer that cherishes Norwich as his own early home, or the seat of his ancestors—will experience in the perusal some portions of that satisfying interest which was felt in the preparation.⁴⁵

This confession of uncertainty—"The author can but hope that some few readers"—was common among antiquarians. Whether rummaging in neglected records or "lift[ing] the veil from a past which has been almost forgotten,"⁴⁶ the tasks they undertook seemed to them at once of uncertain value and yet part of a much grander movement to shape the values of Americans.

It is important that we hear the tone of uncertainty, for otherwise we run the risk of regarding local history as celebrating a romanticized New England. That celebration did occur in Fourth of July orations and Thanksgiving Day sermons. It occurred as well in a vast body of fiction and poetry devoted to "old time" New England. In much of this fiction and poetry a formula prevailed—a formula apparent to reviewers for the *North American Review* and *The Nation* who comment critically on hearing once again of crabbed spinsters, stern, cold-hearted ministers, and vil-

lage characters.⁴⁷ But the sentimental spell that many of these writers—some of whom, like Josiah Holland, were close to the local history tradition—wove around the past was largely missing from the work of antiquarians. To their pages they admitted too much conflict, as in schisms within churches. Instead of dealing in grand themes and happy endings, local history writers committed themselves to a gritty realism.⁴⁸ It was the facts they wished to detail, and preferably the facts as manifested in old records.

A good example of this passion for the facts and its literary consequence, a disheveled structure, is Miss Caulkins's *History of Norwich*. In the space of a few pages the reader moves rapidly through a series of sub-headed sections, their order almost random: "mill" is followed by "first births," "deaths," and "marriages," and then by "miscellaneous details" in which we read of old houses, furniture, and foodways. Several pages of such information give way to "names" by which the land was known. Some of these, she tells us, are "obsolete." It is crucial that she list them:

Connecticut Plains,—a tract within the bounds of the nine-miles-square, on what was then called *the path to Connecticut*, that is, the old road to Hartford.

. . . New Roxbury,—New Woodstock.

Nicholas Hill,—south of the Yantic, since called Nick's Hill.

Little Faith Place,—south of Wawekus Hill.

Thereafter a sudden rush of details fills the page.⁴⁹

This narrative strategy—in effect, an unchecked license to retail facts—is open to the obvious objection that the writer cannot differentiate the significant from the insignificant. We may also complain that the facts are not arranged according to an argument.⁵⁰ Admitting the justice of these questions, we must point out that they overlook the self-admitted purpose of the local historian. Miss Caulkins and her kind understood the role of "antiquarian" as involving, first and foremost, a responsibility to facts. Manifested in the narrative traditions of the annals and of topographical history and sustained in the genre of the local

⁴⁷*Nation*, 8 (June 3, 1869), 437; 3 (Oct. 11, 1866), 288.

⁴⁸Cf. Buell, *New England Literary Culture*, pp. 243–44.

⁴⁹Caulkins, *History of Norwich* (1866), pp. 72–81.

⁵⁰As Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum do of Charles Upham's *Salem Witchcraft*, on which nonetheless they depend for much of their data: *Salem Possessed* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974), pp. x–xi.

⁴⁴Frances Manwaring Caulkins, *History of New London, Connecticut* (New London, 1852), pp. 15–16.

⁴⁵Caulkins, *History of Norwich* (1845), p. iv.

⁴⁶Hazen, *History of Billerica*, p. iii.

history, this concern for facts—the minutiae of dates and names—was coupled with a critique of legends and “tradition.” Thus Miss Caulkins quietly dismissed certain local lore about the Indians. In the hands of the antiquarian, therefore, the details which had been so arduously gathered functioned to correct our picture of the past. These facts were also being made available to others, notably “historians,” to transform into a grander, more poetic story. Accepting for themselves the lesser role, nineteenth-century antiquarians went about the business of collecting all the details on which they could lay their hands.⁵¹

This role coincided with specific social and economic circumstances. It may be said in general that the scores of men and women who wrote local histories did so out of love for the subject, and not for the money. The products they created were not widely marketed as commodities. The proof of this statement lies in the indifference of major publishers in New York and Boston to the genre. A wholly different sociology of culture is contained in the statement at the foot of Miss Caulkins’s title page: “Published by the Author.” Such statements were common before 1870. The one qualification we must make (though it leaves the basic point unchanged) is that individual towns, often acting in response to an anniversary, commissioned and paid for a certain number of the histories.⁵²

Certain aspects of biography point to the same sociology of culture. If these men and women had a literary reputation, it was merely local. Some of the men were college graduates, but in choosing to become an antiquarian or in taking up this avocation they removed themselves from the sphere of metropolitan culture. For them it was not a telling fact that they could trace their descent from the “first settlers.” Ancestry was neutral in its implications until the final decades of the century.

Accepting for themselves a sharply circumscribed role, and acknowledging that few may care about their life work, the men and women who created local history were nonetheless an interesting and varied group of people. In becoming so preoccupied with local history, certain

writers were transformed into village characters: George Sheldon of Deerfield, for example. Some were ministers serving out their years in small-town New England. Charles Hammond moved from the pulpit to the schoolhouse, administering a series of academies. What was said of him in the posthumous *History of Union, Conn.*—“He became intensely interested in the stories of the early settlers of the place, and began while still a young man, to gather the information concerning the history of the town”⁵³—was said of many men and women. Here is Edward E. Bourne, described by his son in the preface to another posthumously published history:

. . . traveling from one part of the town to another, into adjacent places, and even into other States, wherever he could hear of an aged person whose memory might supply some fact or elucidate a doubt; examining ancient records and documents, feeling amply rewarded if a single fact was elicited, he has worked steadily on. . . . During his last hours, only the night before his death . . . he called my attention to minutes of certain facts that had recently come to his knowledge. . . .⁵⁴

The archetypal hero of these early years was John Farmer, who had to resign from the ministry because of ill health. Constrained always by the limits on his strength, never marrying, earning his living as an apothecary in Nashua, New Hampshire, Farmer turned out an astonishing quantity of publications even so.⁵⁵

And what of the women? Frances Caulkins, a native of eastern Connecticut who never married, was educated within her family and at one of the earliest female academies. She ran such a school herself for several years before moving to New York, where her activities included becoming an author of well-meaning pamphlets for the American Tract Society. Ellen Larned, another native of eastern Connecticut, came out of a literary and politically progressive family; a brother taught literature at Yale after serving briefly as a Congregationalist minister, and a half brother was a

⁵³Hammond, *History of Union, Conn.*, preface, and p. 8.

⁵⁴Edward E. Bourne, Jr., “Preface,” to Edward E. Bourne, *The History of Wells and Kennebunk* (Portland, Maine, 1875), pp. iii–iv. Similar stories could be told of other local collectors (e.g., Sylvester Judd, Sherman Wolcott Adams), some of whom did not live to transform their materials into a narrative history.

⁵⁵“Memoir of John Farmer, M.A.,” *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 1 (1847), 9–20.

⁵¹John Daggett, *Sketch of the History of Attleborough* (Dedham, Mass., 1834), p. 3; Larned, *History of Windham County*, pp. v, 4.

⁵²Larned’s *History of Windham County, Connecticut* was “Published by the Author,” as was (to cite an example written by the author of this essay’s great-great grandfather) A. P. Marvin’s *History of the Town of Winchendon* (Winchendon, Mass., 1868).

founder of the Free Soil Party in Connecticut. She too never married.⁵⁶ To generalize is risky. Yet it may be said with assurance that these men and women did not constitute or have close relations to a "Brahmin" (and largely Unitarian and urban) elite. That elite included a few notable antiquarians, like James Savage. But for the most part the social history of the antiquarian community was a history of middle-class New Englanders responsive to and rooted in provincial culture.

For grander personal histories, and grander themes about the New England past, we must look to such works (and their writers) as John Gorham Palfrey's multi-volume *History of New England*, the first volume of which was published in 1865. No compiler or mere annalist, Palfrey adopted the mode of narrative history. For his overriding theme he chose the emergence of liberty. As Lawrence Buell has observed, Palfrey could have sided with his fellow Unitarians in their conflict with the orthodox by describing the reign of the Puritans as a time of almost unrelieved spiritual and civil oppression—a "theocracy," in short. Eager to legitimize their liberalism, these Unitarians were making much of the banishing of Roger Williams, the witch-hunting at Salem in 1692, and the obscurantism of Cotton Mather. It was the Unitarian George Bancroft who popularized the argument that the Salem witch-hunt arose as an effort by the clergy to regain their authority.⁵⁷ Many decades later, historians of New England are still dealing with the misapprehension of "theocracy" and an overbearing clergy that burned witches at the stake.⁵⁸ But in the pages of Palfrey's *History* a different theme prevailed, a less partisan story of an ever-rising freedom.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, therefore, local history was being written in two quite different ways: in the main, as antiquarian detail, but in books like Palfrey's as grand narrative. Not until the very end of the century were both of these modes strongly challenged and their premises denied. One challenge came from members of the Adams family, the quintessential insiders as outsiders of their time. In the 1890s two broth-

ers, Charles Francis Adams, Jr. and Brooks Adams, strongly denounced Palfrey for being an apologist who overlooked the fundamental errors of the "theocratic" Puritans.⁵⁹

In some sense this was a family quarrel without major consequences. More telling in the long run was the rise of "scientific" history within research universities. But before we describe this new way of writing local history let us sketch the broader scene. The movement we have often spoken of seemed to gain momentum in the final decades of the nineteenth century. More books were being published and more local societies were active than ever before. Some of the histories published in this period represent the genre at its best—for example, Thomas Waters's two-volume *Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony*.⁶⁰ Yet all was not as prosperous as the data may suggest. New trends were emerging that, as they gained ground, undercut the enterprise of local history. Its apparent health was paradoxically a sign of impending collapse.

One trend was for commercial publishers to sponsor local history. The Boston firm of James R. Osgood published several such histories in the 1880s. A parallel event was the emergence of professional genealogists and antiquarians who, unlike any of their predecessors, wrote for pay or held posts as librarians and directors of historical societies. In collaboration with the Philadelphia firm of J. W. Lewis & Company, Duane Hamilton Hurd organized eleven county histories, some of them lavishly illustrated with "mug shots" of contemporary worthies.⁶¹ This commercializing of the genre, though not in and of itself deplorable, signified the weakening of local sources of support.

The weakening of local history at its very source, the community, was hastened by the rise of "scientific" history and of its institutional sponsor, the research university. In 1876 the newly-founded Johns Hopkins University became the first American university to limit itself to graduate instruction leading to the Ph.D. degree. The main instrument of instruction was the "seminar," a structure imported from the German universities

⁵⁶Henry P. Haven, "A Brief Sketch of the Life of the Author," in Caulkins, *History of Norwich, Connecticut* (1874), pp. vi-xviii; "Larned, Ellen Douglas," *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 3.

⁵⁷Palfrey, *History of New England* (Boston, 1865); Chadwick Hansen, *Witchcraft at Salem* (New York, 1969), pp. ix-x.

⁵⁸As retold by Vernon Louis Parrington and James Truslow Adams, among others.

⁵⁹Charles Francis Adams, *Massachusetts: Its Historians and Its History; An Object Lesson* (Boston, 1893); his younger brother Brooks Adams had launched this assault in *The Emancipation of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1887).

⁶⁰(Ipswich, Mass., 1905-17).

⁶¹E.g., *History of Hillsborough County, New Hampshire* (Philadelphia, 1885).

at which several of the faculty had earned their advanced degrees. The man who undertook to organize instruction in American history, Herbert Baxter Adams, earned a Ph.D. at Heidelberg in 1876. His family background—he was born in a small Massachusetts town, and his ancestry extended back to the seventeenth century—qualified him to be an antiquarian. One of his early students, Charles McLean Andrews, was also a native of small-town New England (in this case, Connecticut) and enjoyed similar family roots. But when Adams wrote about the New England town, his “scientific” training led him in a new direction. It was crucial that the local be connected to more general structures—in Adams’s case, the institutional evolution of “the town” from the Anglo-Saxon (or German) “tun.” The evolution of institutions—alas, all too abstract—took the place of attention to unique, or nearly so, detail. Interestingly, Andrews rejected his mentor’s vision of Germanic origins for the New England town. His Johns Hopkins thesis, a study of the founding and evolution of three Connecticut River towns, seems astonishingly modern—that is, free of Germanic, institutional history jargon—and yet clearly rooted in the antiquarian tradition.⁶² But the blighting hand of institutional history seemed to prevail. Denounced from within by people like the Adamses, rejected from without by those with more pretensions, local history languished after 1900. As the curve of publications dropped, as satire like *The Late George Apley* came upon the scene, it seemed certain that a great tradition had come to its end.

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PART TWO: THE ADVENT AND TRIUMPH OF THE COMMUNITY STUDY

During the twentieth century academically-trained and academically-employed “social historians” took up the writing of local histories as “community studies” and made them the staple genre

⁶²Herbert Baxter Adams, *The Germanic Origin of New England Towns* (Baltimore, 1882); Charles M. Andrews, *The River Towns of Connecticut: A Study of Wethersfield, Hartford, and Windsor* (Baltimore, 1889).

of their trade. In describing this transition and contrasting the antiquarian and the social science modes of local history I mean to avoid the usual mythos of the invading academics: that their professionalism rescued local history from benighted, parochial amateurs. There has been no shortage of carelessly researched and poorly written antiquarian histories, but the same can be said of some of the succeeding community studies. My own research has taught me to respect the accomplishments and continuing usefulness of the very best of the antiquarian works; and my own reading in the newer-style community studies has not convinced me that they have always improved on their predecessors. So, in the following pages, I will not glorify the rise of the new social historian by deriding the antiquarian. Nor will I concentrate on the emergence or submergence of competing “arguments” with which academic reviewers and historiographers usually pigeonhole every study. Instead, I will treat the new community study as another form of historical literature, as the consequence of an agenda that differs from that of the antiquarians.⁶³

That agenda represents different answers to six interrelated questions. *First*, what role does the author take in relation to the people who once lived in a given place? Many antiquarians settled for being mere chroniclers who listed, in chronological sequence, the town’s most conspicuous events or who described, in topical sequence, the town’s preeminent institutions. But the best were narrators who organized their evidence into a richly descriptive and strictly linear story that begins with a Puritan (or, in northern New England, a Yankee settler) genesis and develops through the Indian and Revolutionary conflicts toward an apotheosis in the nineteenth century as an improved, progressive community, yet one that still reveres worthy traditions. In contrast, the social historian sees himself as a social *scientist* self-consciously posing theoretically-informed questions to quantifiable data. The problem-solving social historian’s encounter with difficult but potent sources moves to the very center of the narration.

The historian as modernist manifests his skill by fully exposing to his readers his methods of

⁶³For the disdain see John M. Murrin, “The Myths of Colonial Democracy and Royal Decline in Eighteenth-Century America: A Review Essay,” *Cithara*, 5 (Nov. 1965), 53; Michael Zuckerman, *Peaceable Kingdoms: New England Towns in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1970), pp. 3–5.

collecting data and reasoning with evidence. Discussion of method and reasoning is no longer an adjunct, segregated in notes or an appendix, if included at all; instead such discussion dominates the text. Just as modernist architects cast aside every ornament in favor of exposing the skeletal frames of their buildings to the onlooker, the new social historians of the later twentieth century highlight the structure of their craft for the reader to see on every page. The narrative historian sought to sustain the illusion of presenting past people in past action without apparent intrusion from the off-stage scholar; the modernist seeks the newer illusion of presenting no illusion. Having become the text's central character, the new historian triumphs by persuading readers that he or she has wrung the best possible interpretation from difficult materials.

Second, how does the author fit events together in order to explain them? For the best of the antiquarians, the meaning of an event emerged by arranging it in a chronological sequence. Every significant event led to the next and moved the community forward toward its destiny as part of the dramatic triumph in the nineteenth century of New England values, institutions, and prosperity, an ascent that overcomes every challenge from the immoral representatives of social regression: heathen Indians, French Catholics, tyrannical Redcoats, selfish Tories, local loafers, and any geographic obstacles to economic development. In the narrative mode favored by the most skilled antiquarians, description and explanation and moralizing were inseparable. In contrast, for the social historian, understanding an event, a person, or an institution depends less on its place between antecedents and succedents, and more upon its systemic position or function within a community or a social order.⁶⁴

Third, what sort of generalized knowledge does the scholar seek? The antiquarians sought affirmation of their social order by reordering the past to provide reassuring "moral laws" that presumably dictated the inevitable triumph of the New England culture and society of the nineteenth century over its immoral and antiquated enemies.

⁶⁴Harry B. Henderson III, *Versions of the Past: The Historical Imagination in American Fiction* (New York, 1974), pp. 3–15; David Levin, *In Defense of Historical Literature: Essays on American History, Autobiography, Drama, and Fiction* (New York, 1967), pp. 1–33; James A. Henretta, "Social History as Lived and Written," *American Historical Review*, 84 (Dec. 1979), 1299.

But the rise of social science in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century discredited the search for moral laws and dethroned history as the dominant form of social inquiry. The social historian sought renewed credibility and influence among the social scientists by joining their quest for testable hypotheses about behavioral (rather than moral) regularities; by borrowing, testing, and refining the theoretical models developed by sociologists, anthropologists, or psychologists. Seeking a truce with the other social scientists on the basis of parity, the social historians concede that history will no longer find law but receive it from the other disciplines for testing.

Fourth, what sources should the historian rely upon? The best antiquarians used virtually all of the sources later tapped by the social historians: traditions, probated wills and inventories, church records, land deeds, court cases, vital statistics, maps, prints, account books, and town meeting minutes. But where the antiquarian tended to use them to trace individuals, the social historian counts and sorts and cross-tabulates in search of aggregative statistics for entire populations or subgroups within the town. The antiquarian attends to the town's special identity while the social historian usually treats the community as a microcosm of the region (if not the entire nation), as a laboratory for understanding a larger society.

Fifth, what is the place of the community within New England and of New England within the nation? The emergence of the new social history of New England communities produced a paradox. Although the antiquarians had ostensibly pursued local identity, they described towns which were much more like one another than those depicted by the various social historians, who had assumed that any one new England town could stand in for all of the others. The antiquarians wanted to fit their particular towns into shared regional traditions and to claim a place for them in New England's economic and cultural progress. The social historian feels a concern for staking a personal claim within the academic profession by setting a particular town in a different light from those already studied. The antiquarian's town was a special representative of the region's collective achievements. The social historian's town serves to correct all of those historians who had already written. It would seem that the antiquarians were more collegial, in the word's figurative sense, than their academic successors.

Sixth, what sort of people should the scholar focus upon? Although attentive through genealogy to middling folk, the antiquarians tended to focus their narrative on the town fathers and other conspicuous individuals at the center of public events and in the lead in town improvements. In contrast, the social historian has usually sought the ordinary, the common, the average man (less often, the woman) as defined by the statistical means of aggregated records. Until recently, most social historians took no interest in individuality. To better see the elusive common men, they put leading men out of view, presuming that the two sorts of townspeople lived in essentially different realms.

The polarity between how antiquarians and social historians answered those six questions has not remained constant over the course of the twentieth century. In the following discussion we will show how it widened over the decades as social historians appropriated and rearranged the genre of local history. The divergence peaked in the late 1960s and early 1970s. But during the last decade, as academic historians have tempered their enthusiasm for social science, that gap has begun to close in interesting ways.

The Community Study Emerges

The modernist social history of New England communities begins in 1938 with the publication of Carl Bridenbaugh's *Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625–1742* (New York, 1938), a study of the five largest colonial towns, two of them—Boston and Newport—in New England. On the advice of his graduate school mentor (Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., of Harvard), Bridenbaugh expropriated the realm of local history from the antiquarians. Like any pioneer, he justified his conquest by defining the terrain as essentially open and “free” (for the taking) because the natives had misused it; he dismissed the earlier town histories as “only too frequently works of filial piety, narrowly provincial and uncritical” (p. 483). More positively, he stressed the novelty and virtues of his own comparative approach—of his five towns with one another and with their European counterparts. Neither his communities nor his region were isolates; he carefully and astutely situated them “in a world setting. . . . as part of a great period of transition affecting all of western Europe” (p. vi).

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collecting data and reasoning with evidence. Discussion of method and reasoning is no longer an adjunct, segregated in notes or an appendix, if included at all; instead such discussion dominates the text. Just as modernist architects cast aside every ornament in favor of exposing the skeletal frames of their buildings to the onlooker, the new social historians of the later twentieth century highlight the structure of their craft for the reader to see on every page. The narrative historian sought to sustain the illusion of presenting past people in past action without apparent intrusion from the off-stage scholar; the modernist seeks the newer illusion of presenting no illusion. Having become the text's central character, the new historian triumphs by persuading readers that he or she has wrung the best possible interpretation from difficult materials.

Second, how does the author fit events together in order to explain them? For the best of the antiquarians, the meaning of an event emerged by arranging it in a chronological sequence. Every significant event led to the next and moved the community forward toward its destiny as part of the dramatic triumph in the nineteenth century of New England values, institutions, and prosperity, an ascent that overcomes every challenge from the immoral representatives of social regression: heathen Indians, French Catholics, tyrannical Redcoats, selfish Tories, local loafers, and any geographic obstacles to economic development. In the narrative mode favored by the most skilled antiquarians, description and explanation and moralizing were inseparable. In contrast, for the social historian, understanding an event, a person, or an institution depends less on its place between antecedents and succedents, and more upon its systemic position or function within a community or a social order.⁶⁴

Third, what sort of generalized knowledge does the scholar seek? The antiquarians sought affirmation of their social order by reordering the past to provide reassuring "moral laws" that presumably dictated the inevitable triumph of the New England culture and society of the nineteenth century over its immoral and antiquated enemies.

⁶⁴Harry B. Henderson III, *Versions of the Past: The Historical Imagination in American Fiction* (New York, 1974), pp. 3–15; David Levin, *In Defense of Historical Literature: Essays on American History, Autobiography, Drama, and Fiction* (New York, 1967), pp. 1–33; James A. Henretta, "Social History as Lived and Written," *American Historical Review*, 84 (Dec. 1979), 1299.

But the rise of social science in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century discredited the search for moral laws and dethroned history as the dominant form of social inquiry. The social historian sought renewed credibility and influence among the social scientists by joining their quest for testable hypotheses about behavioral (rather than moral) regularities; by borrowing, testing, and refining the theoretical models developed by sociologists, anthropologists, or psychologists. Seeking a truce with the other social scientists on the basis of parity, the social historians concede that history will no longer find law but receive it from the other disciplines for testing.

Fourth, what sources should the historian rely upon? The best antiquarians used virtually all of the sources later tapped by the social historians: traditions, probated wills and inventories, church records, land deeds, court cases, vital statistics, maps, prints, account books, and town meeting minutes. But where the antiquarian tended to use them to trace individuals, the social historian counts and sorts and cross-tabulates in search of aggregative statistics for entire populations or subgroups within the town. The antiquarian attends to the town's special identity while the social historian usually treats the community as a microcosm of the region (if not the entire nation), as a laboratory for understanding a larger society.

Fifth, what is the place of the community within New England and of New England within the nation? The emergence of the new social history of New England communities produced a paradox. Although the antiquarians had ostensibly pursued local identity, they described towns which were much more like one another than those depicted by the various social historians, who had assumed that any one new England town could stand in for all of the others. The antiquarians wanted to fit their particular towns into shared regional traditions and to claim a place for them in New England's economic and cultural progress. The social historian feels a concern for staking a personal claim within the academic profession by setting a particular town in a different light from those already studied. The antiquarian's town was a special representative of the region's collective achievements. The social historian's town serves to correct all of those historians who had already written. It would seem that the antiquarians were more collegial, in the word's figurative sense, than their academic successors.

Sixth, what sort of people should the scholar focus upon? Although attentive through genealogy to middling folk, the antiquarians tended to focus their narrative on the town fathers and other conspicuous individuals at the center of public events and in the lead in town improvements. In contrast, the social historian has usually sought the ordinary, the common, the average man (less often, the woman) as defined by the statistical means of aggregated records. Until recently, most social historians took no interest in individuality. To better see the elusive common men, they put leading men out of view, presuming that the two sorts of townspeople lived in essentially different realms.

The polarity between how antiquarians and social historians answered those six questions has not remained constant over the course of the twentieth century. In the following discussion we will show how it widened over the decades as social historians appropriated and rearranged the genre of local history. The divergence peaked in the late 1960s and early 1970s. But during the last decade, as academic historians have tempered their enthusiasm for social science, that gap has begun to close in interesting ways.

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the coin, what the petitioners were actually doing while airing their grievances, is revealed only in obscure town records" (p. 65). Moreover, by insisting that Kent was a "typical" New England hinterland town, he asserted that his findings demolished the class-conflict interpretation for every rural community: "It would seem absurd, for example, to envision 300 Kent inhabitants enjoying bonanza conditions while to the north 300 fellow citizens chose to languish under proprietor tyranny in, say, Westminister, Massachusetts" (p. ix). According to Grant, things were not as they seemed in literary sources; so the social historian could and should rewrite the New England past by relying primarily on the patterns discerned by tabulating data from local records. He concluded his book with a clarion call for more town studies utilizing his research strategy.

In *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964) Stephan Thernstrom, one of Oscar Handlin's graduate students, pursued a rhetorical and research strategy similar to Grant's. Thernstrom opened with the "legend," rooted in literary accounts, that opportunity and social mobility for the common man had characterized nineteenth-century America. "This has been the myth. How has it squared with social reality?" (p. 1). Literary sources had spun myths; but the manuscript returns of the federal census offered Thernstrom access to social reality. Thernstrom wanted to know "whether it was easy, difficult, or impossible for a laborer or a laborer's son to become a grocer, a foreman, or a farm owner in the United States a Century ago" (pp. 2-3). His subjects could hardly have differed more from the standard fare of American historiography, for he meant to rewrite history "from the bottom up" (p. 7). Instead of statesmen, generals, millionaires, and novelists Thernstrom studied "the changing social position of unskilled manual laborers and their families. . . . These families stood at the very bottom of the social ladder by almost any criterion. Living at the margin of subsistence, they suffered from the classic disabilities of the depressed social group: unemployment, illiteracy, bad housing, poor diets" (p. 3).

Given that such people left behind so few written documents, how was Thernstrom to study them? He followed Handlin's lead and turned to the original manuscript schedules of the United States Census for one small city: Newburyport,

Massachusetts. Beginning in 1850, those schedules recorded occupation, place of birth, property holdings, and literacy, as well as name and age; this fuller information enabled Thernstrom "to fix the social position of the unskilled laboring families of Newburyport at decade intervals, and to measure how much social mobility they experienced in the period 1850-1880" (p. 5). He supplemented the census returns with city directories and tax assessments. He found that most of those who persisted for a decade or more enjoyed modest social mobility, accumulating houses and moving into some skilled trade; but less than a third of the laborers found in any given census reappeared ten years later in the next; two-thirds or more moved out of town and Thernstrom gave up on any effort to track them down. Because there was a correlation between persistence and success, Thernstrom's community study only captured the experiences of a fortunate few among the many laboring families who passed through Newburyport. He had used the community study to plumb farther into the social depths than any previous historian, but he had still not found the bottom's "impoverished, floating lower class, large in number but so transient as to be formless and powerless" (p. 158). He confessed, "this is an interpretative essay based on fragmentary data, not a large-scale, definitive statistical study" (p. 97n). Despite such caveats, Thernstrom was confident that his findings were vastly superior to the "sheer fantasy" manifest in the literary accounts by "nineteenth-century propagandists" (pp. 161-63).⁶⁷

By asserting that preceding historians had misled themselves and their readers through their reliance on literary sources, Grant and Thernstrom suggested abundant and promising opportunities for new historians to set the record straight. Every historical argument based on literary sources became an alluring target for the aspiring modernist. An aggressive new generation of social historians intended to use their reformation of the community study to conquer and transform the writing of American history. They waged polemical war on their scholarly ancestors and on the holdovers in political and intellectual history who failed to recognize the new hegemony. During the

⁶⁷For methodological problems with Thernstrom's work see Richard S. Alcorn and Peter R. Knights, "Most Uncommon Bostonians: A Critique of Stephan Thernstrom's *The Other Bostonians*," *Historical Methods Newsletter*, 8 (June 1975), 98-114.

1960s and early 1970s, the new social historians tended to follow Grant's and Thernstrom's lead by opening their books and articles with some old literary-based interpretation targeted for deserved demolition, an unwanted anachronism in a bold new age.

*The Big Three of 1970:
In Search of the Ordinary*

The new age blossomed in 1970 with the publication of three impressive books exploring the locales of colonial New England: John P. Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (New York, 1970); Philip J. Greven, Jr., *Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1970); and Kenneth A. Lockridge, *A New England Town: The First Hundred Years, Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636–1736* (New York, 1970). All three authors asserted the typicality of their town as all of early New England writ small.

The clearest summation of their aspirations to reform the local history appears in John Demos's foreword to *A Little Commonwealth*. He expressed worry that by choosing for study the "'Pilgrims' of fond and venerable legend" he increased his risk of being mistaken for an antiquarian (p. viii). Concerned "lest the title and subtitle of this book suggest merely one more exercise in antiquarianism," Demos denied the sin and insisted that he used the local in pursuit of "a larger purpose": to derive "general answers, for a picture of the family rather than any single instance thereof" (p. viii). He investigated the Plymouth Colony not for parochial celebration, but as a "'case study' in early American family life—a study which through sustained work on materials from one community, produces questions, methods of approach, and even some substantive conclusions that will ultimately have a much wider application" (p. ix). He was the historian as social scientist; the records of a locality were his laboratory; his mediation between systematic hypotheses and recondite but promising new data took central place in his narration; his findings were meant to influence the discourse of other social scientists with their own data. Greven and Lockridge conceived of their work in similar terms.⁶⁸

⁶⁸Philip J. Greven, Jr., *Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1970), pp. vii–ix, 1–18; Kenneth A. Lockridge, *A New England Town: The First Hundred Years, Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636–1736* (New York, 1970), pp. xi–xv.

The Big Three of 1970 made three provocative promises about the potential of local history as social science. First, they insisted that it offered a more disciplined and focused way of examining and presenting evidence about the past. They had usurped and transformed the realm of local history to obtain a base from which to challenge the predominant ways of researching and writing history as practiced by most of their academic colleagues. Again Demos is the most explicit. In his introduction (p. xi) he laments "the element of impressionistic presentation so common in historical writing—the tendency to offer a general statement followed (or preceded) by a small number of illustrative 'examples'." To "introduce a greater degree of precision into a field which heretofore has been widely influenced by popular myth, and indeed by the most careless sort of guesswork," he offers two remedies. Whenever possible, he would count, seeking "quantitative measures" drawn from entire or representative populations; and he would follow (and expand upon) the lead of his graduate school mentor, Oscar Handlin, by applying the theoretical models of social scientists—especially the developmental psychology of Erik Erikson—to historical evidence. Demos did so partly to better understand the past but also, in part, to test and refine those models. Completing the journey to social science begun by Handlin, Demos utterly forsakes the authoritative narrative in favor of a research report that frankly admits its ultimate incompleteness and uncertainty.

The second assertion of the three authors was to insist that their use of quantification and hypothesis produced evidence that was better because it was more comprehensive and less "elitist." They promised to democratize our knowledge of colonial America, finishing what Bridenbaugh had begun but could not complete. The Big Three of 1970 not only accepted Charles Grant's stark dichotomy between literary and quantitative sources; they insisted that the distinction broke along class lines, with only the latter offering access to the experience of the great majority of colonial New Englanders. Demos asserted,

Owing to the work of Perry Miller and a whole corps of his distinguished students, the religious faith and belief of the Puritan *leaders* is very well known indeed. But I am thinking rather of the *followers*, the ordinary citizens of these early New England towns. What they heard and read did

not necessarily coincide with what their ministers and magistrates said and wrote. Thus I contend that we have an excellent picture of Puritan worship for the highest level of the culture (the educated, the powerful), but nothing comparable for the "average man." The problem in studying the latter group, of course, is that most of them were from the standpoint of history quite inarticulate (p. 12n16).

Consequently, it was only an apparent weakness for his study that so few literary sources ("which often bulk largest in historical research") survived for the Plymouth Colony. Literary materials, he explained, were disproportionately produced by and about "the most affluent and educated class of people (particularly given a society that was only partially literate); whereas I, lacking such evidence for Plymouth, have tried quite self-consciously to reach the life of the 'average man'" (pp. x–xi). The lack of literary materials was a blessing in disguise because necessity obliged *Demos* to discover and exploit the potential of three alternative sources he deemed more appropriate to his search for the common: surviving physical artifacts (houses, furniture, tools, utensils, and clothing); the wills and inventories of probate records; and the colony's court records. The community study promised to recapture the Holy Grail of the social historian: the lost experience of ordinary people.⁶⁹

Third, the Big Three of 1970 suggested that their statistical attention to the long-neglected common people would construct a radically new understanding of societies in the past as holistic systems of slowly-changing "structures." Following the lead of the *Annales* and Cambridge schools of French and English historical demography, the three authors renounced American historians' preoccupation with public events and leaders' actions as largely irrelevant to the lives of the common people, who comprised the vast majority of any society. No events of trans-local significance receive more than passing reference in the three books. Bloody wars of conquest waged with the Indians made it possible for the invading whites to found Plymouth, Dedham, and Andover; the Indian counter-offensive in 1675 ("King Philip's War") devastated or imperiled all three communities; yet those wars receive bare mention in *A*

New England Town (pp. 59, 68, 97), *A Little Commonwealth* (pp. 15–16, 175), and *Four Generations* (p. 65). "Whatever the reason, when the war was over a year later, life in the village resumed its old course," Greven writes of King Philip's War, conveying his sense that the rhythms of local life were virtually unaffected by the passing storms of politics and war (p. 65). Instead of the conspicuous but fleeting event, the three authors sought the subtle but fundamental structure. They conceived of structures as demographic (the life-cycle patterns of births, marriages, and deaths as revealed by the shifting, or unshifting, statistical means among local populations over the generations), as economic (the organization of production within households and the transmission of property across the generations through inheritance), and as cultural (the persistence of a traditional "mentalité" appropriate to small and intimate communities of peasants). The three authors suggested that isolated events are insignificant; events only become meaningful when aggregated into a series, to reveal deep structures beneath the chaotic surface of life. Moreover, it is ironic that the presumption of typicality for their towns led Greven and Lockridge, in particular, to depict communities in seeming isolation from every other locale and, by extension, from the wider world of commerce, politics, war, and religion. They lost sight of Carl Bridenbaugh's insistence that the historian must define the local by describing its fit into the wider world.⁷⁰

But the three promises proved easier to make than to keep. First, the paucity of data at critical points and the provisionality of their theoretical imports from the other social sciences often obliged the social historians to fall back on impressions derived from stray examples. In his foreword to *A Little Commonwealth*, immediately after his injunctions for "a greater degree of precision," *Demos* pled for the usefulness of informed speculation: "We must be ready to ponder what is *likely* to have happened—when more certain knowledge is lacking" (p. xiii). Throughout his subsequent text, speculation proliferates in the widespread absence of conclusive data. Only one town

⁶⁹See also Greven, *Four Generations*, p. 3; and Rhys Isaac, "Order and Growth, Authority and Meaning in Colonial New England," *American Historical Review*, 76 (June 1971), 729.

⁷⁰See also the discussion of social history in Gordon S. Wood, "Intellectual History and the Social Sciences," in John Higham and Paul K. Conkin, eds., *New Directions in American Intellectual History* (Baltimore, 1979), p. 36. For the isolating tendencies of the argument for typicality see John W. Adams, "Consensus, Community, and Exoticism," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 12 (Autumn 1981), 253–265.

census (for Bristol in 1689, on the geographic periphery and at the temporal end of his study) and neither official vital statistics nor tax lists survive from the colony. He relies primarily on court and probate records but cannot specify how socially inclusive and comprehensive they were. His demographic "samples" are not truly representative (i.e., randomly drawn so that every member of the population at a given moment had an equal chance of inclusion), but are simply a group of those persons for whom the genealogical information is most complete. This does not inspire a reader's confidence that the "average person" has been found and described. Except when analyzing the Bristol census, Demos cannot deliver the quantitative precision he celebrated in his foreword; and only a leap of faith, frequently made, can accept that town's census as a surrogate for every Plymouth Colony community throughout the century. Often he must write some variant of: "There is no way to measure its incidence in quantitative terms, but it happened, and happened with some regularity" (p. 152). Most of his text consists of a series of hypotheses, each followed by a few examples drawn from wills or court cases, a technique virtually indistinguishable from the "impressionistic presentation" he rejects in his foreword. And when the court cases and wills cannot speak to a hypothesis, Demos repeatedly and unashamedly turns to Edmund S. Morgan's *The Puritan Family*, a study reliant upon literary sources, for needed confirmation. A scrupulous and modest scholar, Demos recognizes the limitations in his data and qualifies almost all of his statements as "impressions," "suggestions," and "hypotheses." Time and again he warns, "All such statements are highly conjectural. . . . Still, with this strong word of warning, it seems worth proceeding somewhat further" (p. 134).⁷¹

The second promise also proved difficult to keep, for the community study as social science bore ironic consequences in the search for the past's common man. Conceived of as a social being, as a composite type, he was essentially stripped of individual initiative and confined within anonymizing structures. Social science's search for repetitive actions that form behavioral regu-

larities entails a disinterest in individual action as random, irrelevant, and "anecdotal." According to this perspective, structures are the collective, accumulative consequence of so many decisions and actions that no one individual can be said to have more than the most minute influence over the unfolding of human affairs. The common people had an aggregate effect (mostly to immobilize change), but any one person was essentially trapped within reflexive patterns of inherited behavior. Unwittingly, they held one another hostage. Moreover, by deemphasizing literary sources, the social historians denied themselves the materials necessary to describe the appearance and personality of actual people (rather than the composite types defined by statistical analysis of quantitative evidence).⁷²

Consequently, the three community studies of 1970 generated quantitative evidence about the presence in official records of common people, but ignored them as individual personalities. It is striking that Demos's *A Little Commonwealth*, a work so indebted to current studies of individual psychology, deals so heavily in names and so lightly in characters. His pursuit of "the development of a typical settler" has the same effect as Handlin's preoccupation with "the Irish": merger of the actual individuals who lived in the Plymouth Colony into one composite type. Two-hundred-sixty names appear sprinkled on the pages, but only as attachments to documents under consideration. The index reveals that in the 196 pages of foreword and text only four persons from the seventeenth century appear on more than three pages (and never on more than two pages in succession). Of those four, only Andrew Ring (on 5 pages) could be considered an "average man." Josiah Winslow (4) and William Bradford (17) were governors of the colony; John Robinson (11), who never came to live in Plymouth, had been the Pilgrims' minister in Leyden, Holland. Ironically, Bradford and Robinson owe their prominence in the text to Demos's quotation from the literary sources they published. None of the named, not even Robinson or Bradford, receives a personality, for Demos attempts no reconstructions, through diverse sources, of any one person's life experience.

Moreover, the Big Three of 1970 displayed an unwitting bias that slighted the female half of the

⁷¹For a more detailed discussion of the Bristol census see John Demos, "Families in Colonial Bristol, Rhode Island: An Exercise in Historical Demography," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 25 (Jan. 1968), 40–57.

⁷²Wood, "Intellectual History and the Social Sciences," 27–28; Henderson, *Versions of the Past*, 28–30.

population in the communities they studied. Since colonial laws subsumed unmarried daughters under the authority of their fathers, and wives under that of their husbands, few women (only the small minority who were widows) possessed the legal identity to appear in the court, probate, land, and town meeting records that supplied most of the social historians' data. Consequently, the flight away from the elitist bias of literary sources had an ironic consequence. Philip Greven is so preoccupied with the relationship of Puritan fathers and sons that he scarcely mentions any mothers or daughters. His index contains eleven entries for "father-son relationships" and seventy-three under "sons," but "mother," "daughter," and "women" do not even appear. Because Lockridge also pays no particular attention to women's experience, the index for *A New England Town* also does not include any entry for "women." According to their indexes, Greven's text names 214 men (88%) but only 25 women (12%); Lockridge's text names 69 men (97%) but only 2 women (3%). Because Demos does attend to the marital relationship, his text contains a slightly higher proportion of women—208 men (80%) and 52 women (20%)—and his index includes an entry for "women, status of." But it is revealing that in the last third of *A Little Commonwealth*, devoted to the life-cycle development of the "typical settler," that settler is almost invariably male in pronoun and in social role. There is every reason to believe that the persistence is a function of the sources and of authorial oversight, rather than of any conscious determination to exclude women. Social history meant to study the lives of the humble, but as of 1970, the community study had not been sufficiently refined to attend to the largest group of the powerless: women. Special efforts would be required to do so, special efforts which would revive attention to the personal in the community studies of the 1970s and 1980s.⁷³

The third promise, of a new structural history, was only partially realized. The Big Three and their emulators did achieve remarkable precision and uniformity in taking the measure of colonial New England's demographic structure: the birth rate, mean family size, age at first marriage, life expectancy, rates of migration. But economic and

cultural structures proved harder to delineate, in part because there was, apparently, much variation among the towns and, in part, because determining them was less purely quantitative and more subjective. The interpretive differences among the three were already significant: Demos stressed the almost immediately corrosive impact on family structures of American abundance and geographic mobility; Greven dwelled on the enduring power, into the early eighteenth century, of Puritan patriarchs over their sons; Lockridge insisted on the similar ability of Dedham's settlers to establish and, for most of a century, to maintain "A Christian, Utopian, Closed, Corporate Community" dedicated to peasant ideals of local homogeneity, consensus, and communal autonomy. Thereafter, every new study published during the 1970s and 1980s cast new doubt on every previous scholar's claim to have described a town that could stand as a surrogate for the entire region. The multiplication of interpretations of small towns within the same colony, during the same two centuries, called into question whether any one town can be said to have typified anything beyond its own borders.⁷⁴

Post-1970: Explaining the Extraordinary

By suggesting the rich potential of combining social science hypotheses with local records, the community studies of 1970 encouraged a host of emulators during the 1970s and 1980s. The community study became the predominant mode of researching and writing early American social history. But more recent work softens the sharp, polemical distinctions made in the community studies of the 1960s and of 1970 between the usefulness of the quantitative and the literary source, and between the significance of the social structure and the political event. More eclectic than the previous work, most of the newest community studies try to link textual and statistical sources in order to unite structural and particular analysis. The authors tend to rehabilitate the event, the personal, and the literary by interweaving them with quantitative delineation of the structural. Most of the new authors insisted that the previ-

⁷³The counts from each index refer only to names in the text, not to names which occur only in the forewords or in the notes, which feature the names of many contemporary historians, male and female.

⁷⁴For the proliferation of dissent about the economic culture of New Englanders see Zuckerman, *Peacable Kingdoms*; Stephen Innes, *Labor in a New Land: Economy and Society in Seventeenth-Century Springfield* (Princeton, N.J., 1983); and Christine Leigh Heyrman, *Commerce and Culture: The Maritime Communities of Colonial Massachusetts, 1690–1750* (New York, 1984).

ous studies had been too preoccupied with impersonal structures to attend to the qualitative aspects of "lived experience" and had failed to recreate vivid descriptions of the characters and struggles of ordinary people. Often the new work shifts inward to link a community study with a biography or a set of biographies, in an attempt to link the structural with the personal and with immediate events.

After 1970, most of the new social historians modified their search for the ordinary by subordinating it to a pursuit of the extraordinary: the war fever, the witchhunt, the religious revival, the rebellion, the riot, and the strike. They could justify their new attention to events on two grounds. First, they pointed out that spectacular events generated reams of documents that, for a sustained moment, cast unusual light on the structures of everyday life. Far from being irrelevant, dramatic events offered unusual opportunities to define structures, especially the cultural. Second, they insisted that events, especially those involving conflict and large numbers, manifested strains in the social structures. Consequently, the social historian promised that community studies of quantifiable records would provide new and better explanations for great events.⁷⁵

In one of the most important and provocative community studies of the 1970s, *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974), Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum embarked on a community study of Salem, Massachusetts, expressly to explain the witch trials of 1692. By linking diverse local records, Boyer and Nissenbaum plotted and contrasted the respective residences, statuses, biographies, and properties of those accusing and those accused of witchcraft. Accusers tended to be people of diminishing status and localist perspective who dwelled in the recesses of Salem Village (now Danvers); the accused tended to be the more prosperous and cosmopolitan folk who lived nigh the expanding port of Salem Town. Therefore, Boyer and Nissenbaum concluded that the witchhunts broke along lines of tension established by the emergence of a split within Salem Village between those clinging to the old communal ways and those who seemed to embrace a more com-

mercial and individualistic order associated with the Town. Here was a new "social" explanation for the Salem witch trials, one made possible by the application of the techniques of community study.⁷⁶

Most of the newest community studies retreated from the previous work's tendency to separate the social from the political, to award the first to the common people and the second to the elite. Prone to accept the old notion of social history as "history with the politics left out," the earlier community studies had attended to the social while insisting that politics had already been overstudied. The separation implied, first, that the people were politically indifferent and impotent and, second, that the political activities of the elite were showy but not all that important. The newer works denied both implications by highlighting the political ideals and behavior of the common people and by insisting upon the important role of political power in shaping, maintaining, or undermining cultural and economic structures. The new work implied a reciprocal relationship between the political and the social. The goal remained to study the common people, but with new attention to their give and take with ruling elites.⁷⁷

We can see this politicization of social history in Gary Nash's *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979). Nash's book recalled Bridenbaugh's by choosing three leading seaports (Boston, New York, and Philadelphia) for comparative study, by attending to the place of those cities in trans-Atlantic commerce and imperial politics, and by asserting that cities were at "the cutting edge of economic, social, and political change" (p. vii). But Nash showed how much the community study had changed since Bridenbaugh's day by systematically exploiting quantifiable local records (especially tax lists

⁷⁵Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974), p. xii; John P. Demos, *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England* (New York, 1982), p. vii.

⁷⁶For a similar technique (from religious event through psychological stress to frustrated material interests) to explain the Great Awakening see J. M. Bumsted, "Religion, Finance, and Democracy in Massachusetts: The Town of Norton as a Case Study," *Journal of American History*, 57 (Mar. 1971), 817-831. Contrast this with his earlier, more literary approach to the subject in "Revivalism and Separatism in New England: The First Society of Norwich, Connecticut, as a Case Study," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 24 (Oct. 1967), 588-612. The difference between the two essays manifests the influence of the Big Three of 1970.

⁷⁷For an example of the dismissal of politics see Demos, *A Little Commonwealth*, p. 9.

and probate inventories) and by paying special attention to the behavior, circumstances, and ideals of the cities' laboring classes, rather than to those of the merchant princes. Nash presented an antidote for "the hallowed generalizations made from the study of the select few upon which our understanding of history is primarily based" (p. ix). But Nash was careful not to exclude the elite from his analysis, for he sought to understand "the relationships among urban people who occupied different rungs of the social ladder" (p. x). He explained, "One part of this social organism cannot be understood in isolation from the others" (p. x). He found an association between the growth of urban poverty (as indicated by his quantitative sources), the development of class consciousness among the laboring folk, and the urban riots that escalated the imperial crisis into a revolution. In Nash's new synthesis of social and political history, leaders were not autonomous innovators, but men obliged to respond to pressures initiated from below.⁷⁸

The most vivid, eloquent, and personal account of the motives and consequences of the shift inward appears in the preface to *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England* (New York, 1982) by John Demos. One of the Big Three of 1970 had begun to recant:

My first outlines were organized around a series of interpretive questions, lifted more or less wholesale from the social science literature. My notes from that early stage bristled with "analytical models" and "conceptual schemas," with "functions" and "costs," with "manifest" and "latent" tendencies. The outlines were clean and symmetrical; the notes seemed expansive enough; hence the prospects looked generally bright. But before many words had been committed to paper, I knew that something was seriously wrong. Briefly stated: my study, if continued along the same track, would be long on concepts, but distressingly short on human detail. The *people* were slipping through the scholarly cracks. Back to my research files. Days of confusion. Restless nights. Conversations with friends and colleagues. (I especially remember one with a novelist of long acquaintance, which helped me to recognize how close are the imaginative worlds of history and fiction.) I began to write "stories" about witch-

craft—true stories of specific episodes for which my evidence was especially full. Stories of everyday experience in all its nettlesome particulars. Stories which put individual men and women (sometimes children) right at center-stage. Stories with beginnings, and middles, and ends (p. viii).

This passage reads very much like one of the religious conversion narratives that colonial New Englanders wrote and read in such bulk: a misguided sinner suddenly encounters the emptiness of his false doctrines, experiences painful unease, but ultimately achieves ecstatic release upon finding a new, more reassuring faith.

As a result of that conversion, *Entertaining Satan* is a very different book from *A Little Commonwealth*. The differences between Demos's two books measure the post-1970 evolution of the New England community study. Above all, *Entertaining Satan* is far richer in personal detail. Instead of the disembodied names of *A Little Commonwealth*, the pages of the newer book are rife with vivid descriptions of diverse people engaged in dramatic conflict. Demos benefited from the far more voluminous and detailed sources generated by the witchcraft controversies; the records generated by the trials preserved far more information about humble people's ideas, language, behavior, and appearance than had the wills and court cases he had used in *A Little Commonwealth*. Taking full advantage of witchcraft's sources, Demos applied painstaking research and imaginative verve to stitch together, from diverse and often incomplete documents, the biographies of a score of ordinary folk caught up in extraordinary events.

In *Entertaining Satan* documents have become invitations to reconstruct the lives once associated with them. Narrative "case studies" comprise the very core of his method and presentation, intended to "evoke as well as analyze" (p. ix). Demos confesses, "Through witchcraft I have come to know scores of people who lived and died centuries ago. . . . I think I would recognize them, and know just what to say to them, should I meet them in some otherworldly byway years hence" (p. ix). He could not have written that statement in *A Little Commonwealth*. Sixty-one persons appear on at least five pages in *Entertaining Satan*, versus only three men in the earlier book. Indeed, in the newer book Demos devotes twenty or more pages to no fewer than eleven persons. The turn to the personal and the subject of witchcraft per-

⁷⁸A similar approach is evident in Gregory H. Nobles, *Divisions Throughout the Whole: Politics and Society in Hampshire County, Massachusetts, 1740–1775* (New York, 1983); and Isaac, "Order and Growth," pp. 735–736.

mit Demos a fuller consideration of seventeenth-century women than had the structuralism of *A Little Commonwealth*. Where women comprised only a fifth of the names in the earlier text, they provide 37 percent (193 of 518) of the persons named in the newer book. More importantly, most of the people explored at length are women: eight of the eleven who appear on twenty or more pages.⁷⁹

Yet, in *Entertaining Satan* Demos's conversion to narrative is still not complete. He concludes his conversion narrative, "Throughout this passage I saw—I *felt*—the historian's old dilemma: history as art *versus* history as science. If the barricades should ever go up, I know now which way I'll jump. But better by far not to have to choose. At any rate, this book declines to choose, Science is not renounced, only scaled down" (p. viii). Accordingly, the book is an extraordinary, experimental medley of rhetorical styles and theoretical perspectives. It is divided into four sections, each characterized by a different scholarly discourse with evidence: biography, psychology, sociology, and history. This segregation produced "four viewpoints overlooking a single field of past experience." Each part is further subdivided into three chapters: two which explicate particular case studies of people in place, time, and action, followed by a third, more synthetic chapter, in which, Demos confesses, are vestiges of his original social science design for the book (pp. viii–ix). Within the case-study chapters, Demos's authorial voice alternates. Sometimes he is the authoritative narrator presenting an unambiguous story. More often, he remains the questioning and uncertain social scientist sharing interesting but inconclusive confrontations with difficult data. For the reader, *Entertaining Satan* is a fascinating but frustrating example of the New England community study in transition. Demos concedes, "There is overlap, to be sure, and some redundancy" (p. 15). But, he insists, "To see all this from *different* sides is to move at least some way toward full and final comprehension." There is a note of resignation here that the book was not yet the integrated, coherent narrative that Demos seemed

to want to write but did not yet know how to sustain. His forthcoming study of Eunice Williams promises to be that sort of book, completing John Demos's journey toward the synthesis of social history with narrative exposition.

Such a synthesis can be found in *The Minutemen and Their World* (New York, 1976) by Robert A. Gross. Although dedicated to explaining New England's mobilization for revolutionary war in 1775, *Minutemen* is a social history because Gross sets the fighting at Concord "in the context of the townspeople's ordinary lives, before and after April 19, 1775" (p. vii). It is a "new social history" because Gross enlists a computer and applies statistical methods to the usual array of local records to "reveal the life of a whole community in surprisingly intimate detail" and "to tell the story of ordinary men and women who have left behind few of the diaries and letters on which historians have long relied" (p. viii). Social science guided his research but narrative techniques framed his presentation. "Social history," he writes, "like any other branch of history, should be accessible to as wide an audience as possible, for it deals with everyday, fundamental experiences of human life—with work and play, with growing up and raising families, with growing old and facing death" (p. viii). Gross sought to make social history readily comprehensible by making past experiences visceral and tangible.

In 1970 Michael Zuckerman had promised that his study of New England towns would correct the antiquarian image of eighteenth-century folk as "caricatures of stolid virtue"; he would show them "fornicating out back in the barn." But such lusty folk are nowhere to be found (I looked diligently) in a study devoted to town petitions. At last Zuckerman's promised characters appeared, six years later, as Lucy Barnes and Joseph Hosmer in *Minutemen*, a book by one of his former students, Robert Gross. She was the teenage daughter of a wealthy farmer; he a penurious young cabinetmaker. Her father refused to countenance their plans for marriage. But the couple forced the issue: Lucy became pregnant and father Barnes grudgingly consented to the match. "Lucy's case was not unique. . . . [I]n the twenty years before the Revolution, more than one out of every three firstborn children had been conceived out of wedlock. In the process, the young people subverted their parents' authority" (p. 100). Here is the pivot in Gross's telling of the couple's story: the

⁷⁹My counts from the index exclude those names mentioned only in the notes. The three men are William Morse (22), Hugh Parsons (23), and Samuel Willard (38); the eight women are Sarah Bridgman (20), Rachel Clinton (27), Eunice Cole (38), Elizabeth Garlick (31), Katherine Harrison (27), Elizabeth Knapp (40), Elizabeth Morse (40), and Mary Parsons of Northampton (23).

turn from particular people to the general point about Concord which they represent. This turn reverses the actual course of Gross's work. First, his research in Concord's vital statistics found a pattern of increased premarital pregnancy associated in time with the press of a growing population on the town's supply of farmland; shrinking family landholdings meant that fathers had less to pass on to their heirs, less leverage to control the behavior of their adolescent offspring; then Gross encoded his findings into the narrative of a personal story. Lucy Barnes and Joseph Hosmer lead the willing reader to the general point; the social scientist can turn to Gross's notes to find the statistics and the methodological reasoning to sustain the interpretation. Those notes demonstrate that Gross's research and quantitative analysis are as thorough, if not more so, than those of the Big Three of 1970. He enjoys more surviving sources than Demos; attends to more types of evidence than Greven; and uses what he finds more carefully than Lockridge. More importantly, Gross regards social science as only the first half of his dual challenge. Not satisfied with the research-report model of exposition, he takes a second step by translating his findings into historical literature. Throughout the book, Gross presents capsule biographies which build toward general points (rather than exemplifying such points already made). The historian is no longer the narration's central character.⁸⁰

In *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650–1750* (New York, 1982), Laurel Thatcher Ulrich presents another example of how social history can evoke, as well as analyze, through "an extended description constructed from a series of vignettes" (p. xiii). The book extends outward to consider the lives of women in several northern New England communities (especially Ipswich, Haverhill, and Salem, Massachusetts), but it is primarily devoted to demonstrating how the inward turn can empower social historians to recover the lives of ordinary women—those common people unwittingly slighted by pure structuralism. On the other hand, unlike so many of the other new studies, *Good Wives* does not revolve around an extraordinary event; neither witch trial nor revolution organizes Ulrich's presentation. Instead, she promises readers "much about housekeeping, child-

bearing, and ordinary churchgoing, about small conflicts experienced by forgotten women, and about little triumphs that history has not recorded" (p. xiii). She works a middle ground of quotidian incidents set between the anonymity of structures and the flash of great events.

Contrary to social science history, Ulrich's intended narration dictates her research (or, more accurately, determines which research is presented to the reader). Intent on presenting "a parade of exemplary lives" meant "to entertain and to instruct the reader," she plunges into the local records to obtain the materials she needs to recreate a series of capsule biographies (p. xiv). In contrast to the social historians of 1970, who aggregated court cases and probate inventories to create types, Ulrich prefers a microscopic analysis which nurses, from the same sources, every possible descriptive detail about the lives of particular women and the small places they dwelled in. In part, her pursuit of "lost detail" harkens back to the very best of the antiquarians; she insists that renewing our personal confrontation as readers with the people of the past can be a worthy goal in and of itself. Indeed, she suggests that we cannot accurately comprehend structures or great events until we understand the particular expectations of the people within those structures and events. But the detail ultimately serves a broader purpose; she accumulates it to reveal general trends among the women of her place in time: "the magnification of motherhood, the idealization of conjugal love, and the elevation of female religiosity" (p. 240).

Most recently, the trend toward the personal has been carried to an extreme where only the shell of the community study remains. The recent social historians of the personal seek the ordinary person who produced extraordinary documents. In *The Way of Duty: A Woman and Her Family in Revolutionary America* (New York, 1984), Joy Day Buel and Richard Buel, Jr., claim to have found such an ideal subject in Mary Fish of Connecticut. There is no doubt about the riches in the letters and reminiscences produced by Mary Fish and her relatives and which survive in unusual bulk, a cache unprecedented for an eighteenth-century New England woman, with the exception of Abigail Adams. But, as the wife of a president, Adams is not the proper subject of a social historian; in the Buels' words, she is too "notable" and "exceptional" (p. xii). They allege that Mary

⁸⁰Zuckerman, *Peaceable Kingdoms*, pp. 3–4.

Fish is different; she “illuminates the lives of countless ordinary people who passed through an extraordinary period of American history” (p. xiv). Given the imperatives of recent scholarly fashion, this is an understandable claim, but, in light of Mary Fish’s actual class position, it is misleading. What does the word “ordinary” mean if it can apply to a woman whose father, Joseph Fish, was a Harvard-educated Congregational minister; whose first husband, John Noyes, was another Congregational reverend and the son of one of Connecticut’s wealthiest and most famous divines; whose second husband, Gold Silliman, was a Yale graduate, a wealthy lawyer, the state’s attorney, a state legislator, and a brigadier general of militia; whose third husband, Dr. John Dickinson, was a wealthy judge and physician; and one of whose sons, Benjamin Silliman, became “the most influential scientist in America during the early nineteenth-century” (p. xiii)? In an era when a liberal education was a rare badge of the very highest social status, her father, three husbands, and five sons all graduated from college. For her part, Mary Fish studied during the early 1750s at the Newport school of the renowned Sarah Osborn, the closest thing to a collegiate education then available to New England women, and another mark of unusually high status. As an adult, Mary Fish lived in fine mansions, entertained the most powerful and renowned men in Connecticut, and benefited from the labor of seven slaves. None of this makes her unworthy of study, for her documents richly evoke her milieu; but it is a milieu of the learned and comfortable elite, not of the “ordinary.” Her circumstances were far closer to Abigail Adams’s than to those of the vast majority of New England women who were the wives of common farmers and artisans.

A second problem is that the Buels are so captivated by their rich literary sources that they rarely see any need to venture beyond them into the local records. Their book is essentially a synthesis of family papers and, almost invariably, they accept Mary Fish’s perspective on events at face value. Consequently, the Buels can deliver on only the first half of their promise to illuminate “the persistent patterns and daily routines of family and community life” (p. xiv). There is much on the family but almost nothing on community because of a disinterest in the deeds, probate, tax, and town meeting records which had

become the foundation of New England social history. As a militia general during the Revolution, Gold Silliman was a figure of considerable controversy: unpopular with his enlisted men, charged repeatedly with military incompetence, and ultimately found by the state comptroller to be £1800 in arrears as a consequence of his careless handling of, and accounting for, public monies. The deserters who belabored Silliman’s reputation and carried their complaints to the Connecticut assembly are never identified, never analyzed. Consequently, readers are left to see Silliman solely as his wife did: as the impeccable husband and gentleman unfairly maligned and abused by shadowy ingrates. The Buels’ quick dismissal of every complaint against Silliman would inspire more confidence if it derived from sources beyond the family cocoon, but in the chapter (fifth) devoted to Silliman’s checkered military career, all of the 101 citations refer exclusively to family letters and reminiscences. Again the Buels seem empowered by the fashion for the personal to dispense altogether with the structural; this has unfortunate consequences. They present an eloquent, humane, fascinating, and useful book; but it would have been a better book had it been more of a community study.

Conclusion

A return to the six fundamental questions addressed by New England local histories indicates that the inward turn has narrowed the once yawning gap between the social historian and the narrative antiquarians. First, the return to the personal has induced many social historians to withdraw behind a screen of literary technique, leaving central place in the narrative to vivid characters making a linear story. This variety of social historian confines self-conscious social science—the posing of explicit and theoretically-informed questions—to notes or appendices. Second, chronological narration has returned, albeit not to celebrate the advent of the social order of the nineteenth-century town. Third, the inward turn withdraws from the social science search for behavioral regularities and retreats into the specific, the local, the literary, and the biographical. Fourth, the social historians of the personal share the antiquarians’ disinterest in the aggregative statistical analysis of local records; both groups prefer to illustrate, rather than to prove. Fifth, both the an-

tiquarian and the newest social historians start from the presumption of atypicality but derive places that are evocations of the New England whole. The latest work follows the lead of the anthropologist Clifford Geertz to reject the notion of typical places altogether and instead to seek "the world" as perceived through the prism of one person or one dramatic episode. Paradoxically, every place and event is unique but reveals the "symbolic systems" of an entire culture. Only on the sixth question does there remain an important distinction between the two approaches: the newest social historian seeks out the common folk while the antiquarian preferred the leading citizens. Indeed, such is the power of their different imperatives that some of the newest practitioners feel compelled to downplay the status of their subjects, in stark contrast to the antiquarians who felt so defensive about dwelling on humble individuals that they tended to inflate their standing and accomplishments.⁸¹

Afterword

Whither the New England community study in the 1990s? What sort of approaches to local history will prove most productive? We hope that future works will seek the balance between the personal and the structural and between the narrative and the analytical evident in Robert A. Gross's *The Minutemen and their World* and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's *Good Wives*. We also favor new community studies which will offer more explicit comparisons. Three sorts seem especially promising: comparisons between settler towns and the Indian communities they displaced; between the locale and the world beyond; and between how the two genders apprehended and affected their locale.

Implicit comparisons create problems. For example, when Kenneth Lockridge described the Puritan settlers of seventeenth-century Massachusetts as anti-commercial "peasants" he must have meant, in comparison to nineteenth- and twentieth-century Americans. But, by leaving the

comparison inexplicit, Lockridge asserts a sweeping statement that can be, and has been, contradicted by the manifold evidence that the Puritan settlers eagerly bought and sold and accumulated property. When Stephen Innes retorted that the Puritan settlers were aggressive and materialistic individualists he implicitly meant: compared to the ideal type postulated by Lockridge. Far more satisfying is the explicitly comparative framework used by William Cronon in *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists and the Ecology of New England* (New York, 1983). He devotes equal attention to the differing and evolving economic and environmental cultures of New England's aboriginal and invading peoples during the seventeenth century. This enables Cronon to reach a judicious understanding:

When seventeenth-century New England towns are compared with those of the nineteenth century, with their commercial agriculture, wage workers, and urban industrialism, the transition between the two may well seem to be that from a subsistence to a capitalist society. . . . And yet when colonial towns are compared not with their industrial successors but with their Indian predecessors, they begin to look more like market societies, the seeds of whose capitalist future were already present (pp. 75–76).

The Web of Progress: Private Values and Public Styles in Boston and Charleston, 1828–1843 (New York, 1985), by William H. Pease and Jane H. Pease, suggests the rich possibilities of studying a New England community side-by-side with a contemporary but external place. The comparative element gives persuasive precision to their statements. It is one thing to study Boston in isolation and assert that the work ethic was fundamental to the city; it is quite another to show the importance of that work ethic to Boston by contrasting it to the different development of a city where it was deemphasized among the white population.

Explicit comparisons between men's and women's experiences and attitudes in particular communities are equally important and promising. Ulrich is about to publish *Martha Ballard's Book: Midwifery in a Kennebec River Town* (New York, 1990): part biography of a midwife, part community study of Hallowell, Maine in the generation after the Revolution, and part exposition of Ballard's manuscript diary. Ulrich offers a beau-

⁸¹ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York, 1973), pp. 5, 22, 28, 412–435; Lawrence Stone, "The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History," *Past and Present* #85 (Nov. 1979), 3–24. Another recent New England local history devoted to Geertz's style of "thick description" is David Richard Kasserman, *The Fall River Outrage: Life, Murder, and Justice in Early Industrial New England* (Philadelphia, 1986).

tiful analogy of community life with a woven fabric:

Where white thread crossed white thread, the squares would be uncolored, where blue crossed blue the squares would be a deep indigo, where white crossed blue or blue crossed white the result would be a lighter, mixed tone, the whole forming the familiar pattern of plain woven "check" even today. Think of the white threads, the opaque but luminous white, as women's activities, the blue as men's, then imagine the resulting social web.

In late eighteenth-century Hallowell some strands of social life were distinctly male (for example, town governance), others reserved for women (such as keeping and tending the hearths), but

the interweave made the culture whole. Consequently, the astute student of locale will neither study men in isolation from women nor assume that one gender alone built and sustained communities. Instead, he or she will comparatively and equally attend to both the distinctions between male and female "worlds" and to their interdependence.⁸²

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⁸²For another model for this type of work (which also compares a settler community with its aboriginal predecessor) see John Mack Faragher, *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie* (New Haven, 1986).

Preface

In his preface to *Connecticut: A Bibliography of its History*, the late John Borden Armstrong stated, "with the publication of this sixth and final state volume, the Bibliographies of New England History series reaches an important milestone." The publication of the Connecticut volume in 1986, some eighteen years after the series was first conceived, was indeed significant. It was a point at which those who had labored so long to bring the project to fruition saw at last a glimmer of light at the end of what had been a very long tunnel.

At this writing, with the two final volumes in the last stages of pre-publication detail and the fulfillment of our mandate to publish a complete and comprehensive series assured, the word milestone seems inadequate to mark the current occasion. A more powerful expression is needed to reflect the state of mind of committee membership in contemplating the successful conclusion of a project which has taken over twenty years to complete and has been under the continuing direction of an organization comprising over 100 volunteers. In retrospect, it seems remarkable that this did not become a classic example of the old corporate adage that a camel is really a horse designed by committee.

It would be redundant for me to restate the history of this remarkable project or to comment in any detail on the scope of its importance to the historiography of New England. John Armstrong, chairman and series editor from 1969 until his untimely death in December 1985, delineated the project's history in each volume as it appeared, and his preface in the Connecticut volume is singularly complete through that period. An even more detailed description of the evolution of the project through 1980 was presented by him at the

annual meeting of the Vermont Historical Society in August of that year and subsequently published in the January-February 1981 issue of *Vermont History News*. I would commend both to the reader who is interested in the history and methodology of this series. As for its importance, the reader may best draw his own conclusions after reading the historiographic essay of David Hall and Alan Taylor together with Roger Parks' comments in his introduction to this volume.

It is interesting that one lapse of historical memory has persisted in all the printed records of the project's beginnings. It has been popularly believed (and recorded) that the first gathering of those who considered the desirability and feasibility of publishing a bibliography of New England history was at Old Sturbridge Village in May of 1969. That gathering, at which the project was formally launched, was in fact preceded in the fall of 1968 by a meeting in Worcester, Mass., called by Marcus McCorison of the American Antiquarian Society at the request of Lawrence Wikander, then president of the New England Library Association. The group was small, the consensus was positive, and formalization followed in the succeeding year. It is interesting also that these two organizations have continued to be principal supporters of the project within the Commonwealth over the years.

Repetition of history aside, a brief summary of the major factors which have made this project work seems very much in order. In terms of funding, it is quite clear that the project would never have gotten off the ground without initial support from the libraries and historical and academic institutions of New England. It is equally clear that it would have foundered economically at many points along the way without strong continuing

support from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the generosity of many institutions and individuals within New England in contributing matching funds over the years.

John Armstrong's perseverance provided much needed drive and leadership through 1985, and over and over again disparate segments of an extraordinarily large and unwieldy committee structure proved capable of resolving editorial and administrative problems alike as they arose. Our editors—we have had but three since 1972—all brought highly individual personal and professional characteristics to the project, yet have been unfailingly responsive to the committee's desires, have shown a remarkable capacity for self-direction, and have produced an editorial product of substantial uniformity and excellence.

Since 1986, Boston University's role in administering NEH grants in support of the program, the contribution of its Academic Computing Center, and the support of university staff within the Office of Special Programs and the American and New England Studies Program have been of enormous help. The logic and strength of this relationship was well demonstrated in early 1986 by the ease and competence with which Richard Candee was able to assume the responsibilities of principal investigator of the project, responsibilities previously carried out by the chairman and series editor.

A final factor in any venture such as this must of necessity be a publisher, and history has it that in the early 1970s the committee's search to find one which would agree to its established criteria for the series met with disappointments. Despite this, in late 1974 a satisfactory contract was signed with G. K. Hall & Co. of Boston who published the first four volumes of the series over the succeeding period of nearly eight years. In 1983 this contract was terminated and a new agreement signed with the University Press of New England, primarily to ensure that all volumes would be kept in print until the completion of the series—a promise which has been faithfully kept. Moreover, UPNE has exhibited a refreshing interest in

and sensitivity to the future needs and opportunities which might be served by the committee.

And what of this future? Over the past several years there has been an increasing amount of discussion within the committee addressed essentially to two questions. First, is there a feasible way in which the series can be brought up to date periodically to avoid its obsolescence, and second, can the structure of the organization be effectively used to carry other major projects forward once the present series is complete? In this context it should be emphasized that at the end of a twenty-year grueling regimen the membership, and I am sure all the membership, have thought happily of that magic day when the committee could say the job was done and self-destruct. Nonetheless, serious and productive consideration of both these questions has gone forward.

Without going into detail, it now seems assured that a practical means of researching and publishing update volumes at four- or five-year intervals can be developed and funded and will definitely go forward. In addition to forestalling rapid obsolescence of twenty years of work it is quite possible that the *modus operandi* contemplated will contribute to the improvement and standardization of the process of gathering bibliographic data within all the New England states. As for the broader question of involvement with a new and major project the issue is in doubt, but the membership is agreed that come what may the structure *per se* should not be dissolved prematurely.

It will be for others to judge the true value of what has been accomplished. At the very least, however, it seems reasonable to take some degree of pride in having completed what we believe to be the first comprehensive historical bibliography of a major region of our country ever undertaken, in creating what has proven to be a research tool of enormous value to scholar and layman alike, and in ensuring that it will remain a viable resource in the years to come.

West Kennebunk, Maine
April 9, 1989

A. L. Morris
Chairman



1777
of the
NORTHERN NEW
ENGLAND STATES
OF
AMERICA.
City of London.
VERMONT NEW HAMPSHIRE DISTRICT
OF MAIN MASSACHUSETTS BROAD
ISLAND, and CANADIAN
R. 1777

Serial Abbreviations

Only those titles for which abbreviations are used in this volume are listed. This is not a complete list of serials searched or cited.

AASP	<i>American Antiquarian Society. Proceedings</i>
CEAIA	<i>Early American Industries Association. Chronicle</i>
DAI	<i>Dissertation Abstracts International</i>
DubSemPr	<i>Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife. Annual Proceedings</i>
EIHC	<i>Essex Institute. Historical Collections</i>
JSH	<i>Journal of Social History</i>
MHSC	<i>Massachusetts Historical Society. Collections</i>
MHSP	<i>Massachusetts Historical Society. Proceedings</i>
NEG	<i>New-England Galaxy</i>
NEM	<i>New England Monthly - New England Magazine 1870-80</i>
NEQ	<i>New England Quarterly</i>
NEHGR	<i>New England Historical and Genealogical Register</i>
NE-StLVGSPr	<i>New England-St. Lawrence Valley Geographical Society. Proceedings</i>
OTNE	<i>Old-time New England</i>
S'liner	<i>New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Historical and Technical Association. Shoreliner</i>
WMQ	<i>William and Mary Quarterly</i>

Location Symbols

+ Listings in the National Union Catalog for books and pamphlets marked with this symbol may include additional library locations.

Ct	Connecticut State Library, Hartford
CtB	Bridgeport [Conn.] Public Library
CtGro	Groton [Conn.] Public Library
CtH	Hartford [Conn.] Public Library
CtHi	Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford
CtHT	Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
CtMy	G. W. Blunt White Library, Mystic Seaport, Mystic, Conn.
CtNh	New Haven [Conn.] Free Public Library
CtNhHi	New Haven Colony Historical Society, New Haven, Conn.
CtStf	Stafford Library Association, Stafford Springs, Conn.
CtTmp	Thompson [Conn.] Public Library
CtU	University of Connecticut, Storrs
CtWeth	Wethersfield [Conn.] Public Library
CtWhar	West Hartford [Conn.] Public Library
CtWille	Eastern Connecticut State University, Willimantic
CtY	Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
DLC	Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
DNLM	National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, Md.
M	Massachusetts State Library, Boston
MAC	Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
MB	Boston Public Library
MBA	Boston Athenaeum
MBNEH	New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston
MBou	Jonathan Bourne Public Library, Bourne, Mass.
MBU	Boston University
MBU-S	Boston University. Stone Science Library
MChB	Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Mass.
Me	Maine State Library, Augusta
MeAu	Auburn [Me.] Public Library
MeC	Colby College, Waterville, Me.
MeHi	Maine Historical Society, Portland
MeL	Lewiston [Me.] Public Library
MELB	Bates College, Lewiston, Me.
MeP	Portland [Me.] Public Library
MeU	University of Maine, Orono
MFr	Fall River [Mass.] Public Library
MH	Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

MHi	<i>Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston</i>
MLowU	<i>University of Lowell, Lowell, Mass.</i>
MNb	<i>New Bedford [Mass.] Public Library</i>
MNF	<i>Forbes Library, Northampton, Mass.</i>
MNS	<i>Smith College, Northampton, Mass.</i>
MPI	<i>Plymouth [Mass.] Public Library</i>
MS	<i>Springfield [Mass.] Public Library</i>
MSaE	<i>Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.</i>
MStuO	<i>Old Sturbridge Village Research Library, Sturbridge, Mass.</i>
MU	<i>University of Massachusetts, Amherst</i>
MUB	<i>University of Massachusetts, Boston</i>
MW	<i>Worcester [Mass.] Public Library</i>
MWA	<i>American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.</i>
MWAC	<i>Assumption College, Worcester, Mass.</i>
MWalB	<i>Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass.</i>
MWC	<i>Clark University, Worcester, Mass.</i>
MWelC	<i>Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.</i>
MWstR	<i>Regis College, Weston, Mass.</i>
MWiW	<i>Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.</i>
N	<i>New York State Library, Albany</i>
NBronSL	<i>Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, N.Y.</i>
Nh	<i>New Hampshire State Library, Concord</i>
NhD	<i>Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H.</i>
NhHi	<i>New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord</i>
NhKeS	<i>Keene State College, Keene, N.H.</i>
NhM	<i>Manchester [N.H.] City Library</i>
NhNc	<i>North Conway [N.H.] Public Library</i>
NhNh	<i>Nash-Gordon Library, New Hampton, N.H.</i>
NhPoA	<i>Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, N.H.</i>
NhPl	<i>Plymouth State College, Plymouth, N.H.</i>
NhU	<i>University of New Hampshire, Durham</i>
PnWC	<i>Westminster College, Wilmington, Pa.</i>
RHi	<i>Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence</i>
RPB	<i>Brown University, Providence, R.I.</i>
RU	<i>University of Rhode Island, Kingston</i>
RWe	<i>Westerly [R.I.] Public Library</i>
RWoU	<i>Union Saint-Jean Baptiste, Mallet Library, Woonsocket, R.I.</i>
TM	<i>Memphis and Shelby County Public Library, Memphis, Tenn.</i>
VtBF	<i>Rockingham Free Public Library, Bellows Falls, Vt.</i>
VtHi	<i>Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier</i>
VtU	<i>University of Vermont, Burlington</i>
WHi	<i>Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison</i>

New England
A Bibliography of Its History

General and Chronological

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SEE "New England--histories" in Index for additional listings.

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Puritan minister in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine.

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- 2021 HENRY, STUART CLARK. *Unvanquished Puritan: a portrait of Lyman Beecher*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: W. B. Eerdmans, 1973. 299p. Ct. +
- 2022 HOPKINS, SAMUEL. *Sketches of the life of the late Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D.D., pastor of the First Congregational Church in Newport, written by himself; interspersed with marginal notes extracted from his diary;....* Stephen West, ed. Hartford, Conn.: Hudson and Goodwin, 1805. xxii, 240p. CtHi. +
The Congregational theologian (lived 1721-1803) served churches in Great Barrington, Mass., and Newport during a long ministerial career.
- 2023 HOVEY, ALVAH. *A memoir of the life and times of the Rev. Isaac Backus, A.M.* Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1859. xvi, 369p. MStuO. +
- 2024 HUSE, RAYMOND HOWARD. *The autobiography of a plain preacher*. Boston: Meador Publishing, 1949. 121p. DLC. +
Methodist minister (born 1880), in New Hampshire, Vermont, and New York.
- 2025 HUTCHINSON, WILLIAM R. *The Transcendentalist ministers: church reform in the New England renaissance*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Pr., 1959. xvii, 240p. MStuO. +
See also next entry.
- 2026 _____. "The Transcendentalists as church reformers." Ph.D. dissertation, Yale Univ., 1956. 298p.
See also preceding entry.
- 2027 JACOBSON, ALF EDGAR. "The Congregational clergy in eighteenth-century New England." Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard Univ., 1963. iii, 538p.
Described in *American Puritan Studies*, Michael S. Montgomery, comp. (1984), 132-133.
- 2028 JOHNSTON, JULIA MICHAEL. *Mary Baker Eddy: her mission and triumph*. Boston: Christian Science Publishing Society, 1946. 183p. MBU. +
- 2029 LAPOMARDA, VINCENT ANTHONY. *The Jesuit heritage in New England*. Worcester, Mass.: Jesuits of Holy Cross College, 1977. x, 321p. MW. +
- 2030 LARKIN, JACK. "Meet the new minister and his family: what do you think of them?" *Old Sturbridge Village, Rural Visitor*, 15 (Summer 1975), 5-6, 14.
The clergy in rural New England (early-19th century).
- 2031 LEE, ELIZA BUCKMINSTER. *Memoirs of Rev. Joseph Buckminster, D.D., and of his son, Rev. Joseph Stevens Buckminster*. Boston: Wm. Crosby and H. P. Nichols, 1849. x, 486p. MStuO. +
Former was a Congregational minister in Portsmouth, N.H.; latter was a Unitarian minister in Boston.
- 2032 LORD, MYRA BELLE HORNE. *Mary Baker Eddy: a concise story of her life and work*. Boston: Davis & Bond, 1918. 62p. MB. +
- 2033 LOVEJOY, DAVID SHERMAN. "Samuel Hopkins: religion, slavery, and the Revolution." *NEQ*, 40 (June 1967), 227-243.
- 2034 McLOUGHLIN, WILLIAM GERALD. *Isaac Backus and the American pietistic tradition*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1967. xii, 252p. MStuO. +
- 2035 MAMPOTENG, CHARLES. "The New England Anglican clergy in the American Revolution." *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 9 (Dec. 1940), 267-304.
- 2036 MILMINE, GEORGINE. *The life of Mary Baker G. Eddy and the history of Christian Science*. (1909) Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1971. xxxiv, 495p. MStuO. +
- 2037 MINKEMA, KENNETH PIETER. "The Edwardses: a ministerial family in eighteenth-century New England." Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Connecticut, 1988. 690p.
Jonathan, Jonathan, Jr., and Timothy. Abstracted in *DAI*, 49, No. 11A (1989), 3484.
- 2038 MITCHELL, WILMOT BROOKINGS. *Elijah Kellogg: the man and his work*. Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1903. xiv, 424p. MeU. +
Kellogg (lived 1813-1901) was a Congregational minister and author in Harpswell, Me., and Boston.
- 2039 MOE, WILLIAM C. H. *Seeing it through: an autobiography of Rev. William C. H. Moe, D.D.* 2d ed. n.p., [1960?]. 124p. CtStf. +
Served Congregational churches in Vermont, Massachusetts and Connecticut.
- 2040 MORSE, JAMES KING. *Jedidiah Morse: a champion of New England orthodoxy*. N.Y.: Columbia Univ. Pr., 1939. ix, 179p. NhD. +
Published Ph.D. dissertation (Columbia Univ.). See also entry 2046.

CLERGY AND OTHER RELIGIOUS LEADERS 2064

- 2041 NEWMAN, RICHARD. *Lemuel Haynes: a bio-bibliography*. N.Y.: Lambeth Pr., 1984. 138p. MB. +
Early black Congregational minister (Massachusetts and Vermont).
- 2042 PEEL, ROBERT. *Mary Baker Eddy....* N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966-1977. 3v. MBU. +
- 2043 PHELPS, VERGIL VIVIAN. "The pastor and teacher in New England." *Harvard Theological Review*, 4 (July 1911), 388-399.
See also next entry.
- 2044 _____. "The pastor and teacher, with special reference to the pastor and teacher in the New England churches." Ph.D. dissertation, Yale Univ., 1910. 123p.
Described in *American Puritan Studies*, Michael S. Montgomery, comp. (1984), 18.
- 2045 PHILLIPS, JOSEPH WILSON. "Jedidiah Morse: an intellectual biography." Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of California, Berkeley, 1978. 338p. MH.
Congregational minister and author (lived 1761-1826). Abstracted in DAI, 39, No. 9A (1979), 5682.
See also next entry.
- 2046 _____. *Jedidiah Morse and New England Congregationalism*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Univ. Pr., 1983. x, 290p. MWA. +
See also preceding entry and entry 2040.
- 2047 POWELL, LYMAN PIERSON. *Mary Baker Eddy: a life size portrait*. N.Y.: Macmillan, 1930. xii, 364p. MWA. +
- 2048 QUINT, ALONZO H. "The origin of ministerial associations in New England." *Congregational Quarterly*, 2 (Apr. 1860), 203-209.
- 2049 RICARD, LAURA BRODERICK. "The evangelical New Light clergy of northern New England, 1741-1755: a typology." Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of New Hampshire, 1985. x, 375p. MeU.
Abstracted in DAI, 47, No. 2A (1986), 638.
- 2050 _____. "The northern New England 'New Light' clergy and 'declension' reconsidered." *Historical New Hampshire*, 42 (Summer 1987), 125-149.
See also preceding entry.
- 2051 RIEGLER, GORDON ARTHUR. *Socialization of the New England clergy, 1800 to 1860*. Greenfield, Ohio: Greenfield Printing and Publishing, 1945. 187p. MSaE. +
- 2052 ROBBINS, THOMAS. *Diary of Thomas Robbins, D.D. Increase N. Tarbox, ed.* Boston: Beacon Pr., 1886-1887. 2v. MWA. +
Massachusetts and Connecticut clergyman. Diary covers the years 1796-1854.
- 2053 ROMAINE, LAWRENCE BOND. "Isaac Backus: New England minister, historian and Yankee trader, 1724 to 1806." *OTNE*, 42 (Spring 1952), 88-92.
- 2054 SAFFORD, OSCAR F. *Hosea Ballou: a marvellous life-story*. Boston: Universalist Publishing House, 1889. iv, 290p. MWA. +
- 2055 SCHMOTTER, JAMES W. "The irony of clerical professionalism: New England's Congregational ministers and the Great Awakening." *American Quarterly*, 31 (Summer 1979), 148-168.
- 2056 _____. "Ministerial careers in eighteenth-century New England: the social context, 1700-1760." *JSH*, 9 (Winter 1975), 249-267.
- 2057 _____. "Provincial professionalism: the New England ministry, 1692-1745." Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern Univ., 1973. 362p.
Abstracted in DAI, 34, No. 9A (1974), 5884.
- 2058 SCOTT, DONALD M. *From office to profession: the New England ministry, 1750-1850*. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Pr., 1978. xv, 199p. MStuO. +
- 2059 SELEMENT, GEORGE JOSEPH. *Keepers of the vineyard: the Puritan ministry and collective culture in colonial New England*. Lanham, Md.: Univ. Pr. of America, 1984. vi, 122p. MWA. +
- 2060 _____. "Publication and the Puritan minister." *WMQ*, 3 ser. 37 (Apr. 1980), 219-241.
- 2061 SHERMAN, DAVID. *Sketches of New England divines*. N.Y.: Carlton and Porter, 1860. 443p. MSaE. +
- 2062 SILBERGER, JULIUS, JR. "Mary Baker Eddy." *American Heritage*, 32 (Dec. 1980), 56-64.
See also next entry.
- 2063 _____. *Mary Baker Eddy: an interpretive biography of the founder of Christian Science*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1980. x, 274p. MWA. +
- 2064 SMAUS, JEWEL SPANGLER. *Mary Baker Eddy: the golden days*. Boston: Christian Science Publishing Society, 1966. 193p. MBU. +

2065 CLERGY AND OTHER RELIGIOUS LEADERS

- 2065 SMITH, CHARLES C. "Financial embarrassments of the New England ministers in the last century." AASP, n.s. 7 (Oct. 1890), 129-135.
- 2066 SPOONER, ELLA BROWN. Clark and Tabitha Brown: the first part of their adventures and those of their three children in New England, Washington and Maryland. N.Y.: Exposition Pr., 1957. 132p. MStuO. +
Clark Brown, a New England Congregational minister, created controversy during his pastorate in Brimfield, Mass. (1797-1803).
- 2067 STORER, CLEMENT ALLYN ALDEN. "Elijah Kellogg: 19th century New England orthodox preacher." Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State Univ., 1969. 237p. Abstracted in DAI, 31, No. 3A (1970), 1212.
- 2068 SWIFT, DAVID E. "Samuel Hopkins: Calvinist social concern in eighteenth century New England." Journal of Presbyterian History, 47 (Mar. 1969), 31-54.
- 2069 TARBOX, INCREASE N. "Jonathan Edwards as a man; and the ministers of the last century." New Englander, 43 (Sept. 1884), 615-631.
- 2070 TEAHAN, JOHN F. "Warren Felt Evans and the mental healing: romantic idealism and practical mysticism in nineteenth-century America." Church History, 48 (Mar. 1979), 63-80.
Methodist minister and later a Swedenborgian lay reader in Massachusetts and Rhode Island.
- 2071 THOMPSON, JAMES EARL, JR. "A perilous experiment: New England clergymen and American destiny, 1796-1826." Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton Univ., 1966. xi, 330p. VtU.
- 2072 THURSTON, CHARLES RAWSON. "Bishop Berkeley in New England." NEM, n.s. 21 (Sept. 1899), 65-82.
George Berkeley.
- 2073 TURNBULL, G. H. "John Dury's correspondence with the clergy of New England about ecclesiastical peace." Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publications, 38 (1947-1951), 18-21. 1659.
- 2074 VAN de WETERING, MAXINE SCHORR. "The New England clergy and the development of scientific professionalism." Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Washington, 1970. xii, 223p.
1720's-1750's. Abstracted in DAI, 31, No. 10A (1971), 5342.
- 2075 WADE, MASON. "Odyssey of a Loyalist rector." Vermont History, 48 (Spring 1980), 96-113.
The Rev. Ranna Cossitt, Anglican missionary in New Hampshire and Vermont.
- 2076 WALKER, WILLISTON. The influence of the Mathers in New England religious development. n.p.: Knickerbocker Pr., 1893. [25]p. Ct. +
- 2077 WATERHOUSE, RICHARD. "Reluctant emigrants: the English background of the first generation of the New England Puritan clergy." Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 44 (Dec. 1975), 270-277.
- 2078 WEBSTER, HOMER J. "The colonial parson." NEM, n.s. 27 (Oct. 1902), 167-176.
- 2079 WEIS, FREDERICK LEWIS. The colonial clergy and the colonial churches of New England. Lancaster, Mass.: Society of the Descendants of the Colonial Clergy (1620-1776), 1936. 280p. MWA. +
Reprinted 1977.
- 2080 WHITEMORE, THOMAS. Life of Rev. Hosea Ballou; with accounts of his writings, and biographical sketches of his seniors and contemporaries in the Universalist ministry. Boston: James M. Usher, 1854-1855. 4v. MWA. +
- 2081 WILBUR, SIBYL. The life of Mary Baker Eddy. N.Y.: Concord Publishing, 1908. xvi, 384p. MWA. +
Other eds.
- 2082 WISBEY, HERBERT A., JR. "A Yankee prophetess." NEG, 3 (Winter 1962), 3-11.
Jemima Wilkinson (lived 1752-1819), the Universal Friend.
- 2083 WOOD, RAYMOND LEE. "Lyman Beecher, 1775-1863: a biographical study." Ph.D. dissertation, Yale Univ., 1961. v, 347p. CtHi.
Abstracted in DAI, 27, No. 3A (1966), 822.
- 2084 WOODBRIDGE, GEORGE. "Samuel Seabury, first American bishop." Newport History, 56 (Spring 1983), 68-79.
Episcopal bishop of Connecticut (from 1785-1796) and Rhode Island (from 1790-1796).
- 2085 WOODMAN, CYRUS. The memoir and journals of Rev. Paul Coffin, D.D. Portland, Me.: B. Thurston, 1855. 181p. NhD. +
Congregational minister in Buxton, Me. (lived 1738-1821). Includes accounts of a number of missionary tours in New England.

- 2086 YACOVONE, DONALD. "Samuel Joseph May, antebellum religion and reform: dilemmas of the liberal persuasion." Ph.D. dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1984. 579p.
Unitarian minister and social reformer. Abstracted in DAI, 45, No. 6A (1984), 1848.
- 2087 YOUNG, DAN. Autobiography of Dan Young, a New England preacher of the olden time. W. P. Strickland, ed. N.Y.: Carlton & Porter, 1860. 380p. NhD. +
Methodist (born 1783).
- 2088 YOUNGS, JOHN WILLIAM THEODORE, JR. God's messengers: religious leadership in colonial New England, 1700-1750. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Pr., 1976. xi, 176p. MStuO. +
See also next entry.
- 2089 _____. "God's messengers: religious leadership in colonial New England, 1700-1750." Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of California, Berkeley, 1970. vii, 504p.
Abstracted in DAI, 31, No. 12A (1971), 6535. See also preceding entry.
- SEE "Clergy" in index for additional listings.
- 2094 BEALS, CARLETON. John Eliot, the man who loved the Indians (July 31, 1604-May 20, 1690). N.Y.: J. Messner, 1957. 192p. MSaE. +
- 2095 CAMERON, KENNETH WALTER. Letter-book of the Rev. Henry Caner, S.P.G., missionary in colonial Connecticut and Massachusetts until the Revolution. A review of his correspondence from 1728 through 1778. Hartford, Conn.: Transcendental Books, 1972. 224p. MBU. +
Anglican.
- 2096 CHAMBERLAIN, GEORGE WALTER. "A New England crusade." NEM, n.s. 36 (Apr. 1907), 195-207.
American Agricultural Mission to Syria and Palestine Emigration Association (mid-19th century).
- 2097 COGLEY, RICHARD WILLIAM. "The millenarianism of John Eliot, 'apostle' to the Indians." Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton Univ., 1983. 188p.
Abstracted in DAI, 43, No. 12A (1983), 7-12.
- 2098 CRAM, JACOB. Journal of a missionary tour in 1808 through the new settlements of northern New Hampshire and Vermont, from the original manuscript of Rev. Jacob Cram, A.M. Rochester, N.Y.: Genessee Pr., 1909. 37p. NhD. +
- 2099 ELIOT, JOHN (1604-1690). "Account of Indian churches in New England, 1673." MHSC, 10 (1809), 124-129.
- 2100 _____. A brief narrative of the progress of the gospel among the Indians of New England. 1670. Boston: John K. Wiggin & Wm. Parsons Lunt, 1868. 36p. MWA. +
- 2101 _____. "The glorious progress of the gospel amongst the Indians in New England." MHSC, 3 ser. 4 (1834), 69-94.
First published in 1649.
- 2102 _____. "A late and further manifestation of the progress of the gospel amongst the Indians in New-England." MHSC, 3 ser. 4 (1834), 261-287.
First published in 1655.
- 2103 _____, and THOMAS MAYHEW, JR. "Tears of repentance; or, a further narrative of the progress of the gospel amongst the Indians in New England." MHSC, 3 Ser. 4 (1834), 197-260.
First published in 1653.
- 2104 ELSBREE, OLIVER WENDELL. "The rise of the missionary spirit in New England, 1790-1815." NEQ, 1 (July 1928), 295-322.

MISSIONS

- 2090 ADAMS, NEHEMIAH. The life of John Eliot; with an account of the early missionary efforts among the Indians of New England. Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, 1847. 324p. MStuO. +
Eliot lived 1604-1690.
- 2091 ANDREW, JOHN ALFRED III. Rebuilding the Christian commonwealth: New England Congregationalists and foreign missions, 1800-1830. Lexington, Ky.: Univ. of Kentucky Pr., 1976. 232p. MBNEH. +
See also next entry.
- 2092 _____. "Rebuilding the Christian commonwealth: New England Congregationalists and foreign missions, 1800-1830." Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Texas, 1973. 431p.
Abstracted in DAI, 34, No. 5A (1973), 2502. See also preceding entry.
- 2093 BARTLETT, IRVING H. "The Puritans as missionaries." Boston Public Library Quarterly, 2 (Apr. 1950), 99-118.

2105 MISSIONS

- 2105 FINDLEY, J. W. "Eliza A. Gardner, mother of the A.M.E. Zion Missionary Society, A.M.E. Zion Church." *A.M.E. Zion Quarterly Review*, 66 (Winter 1955), 36-38.
19th century.
- 2106 GUGGISBERG, HANS R. "Die Indianerbible des John Eliot in einer Basler Gelehrtenbibliothek des 17. Jahrhunderts." *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Arbeiterbewegung*, 82 (1982), 195-204.
- 2107 HARLING, FREDERICK FARNHAM. "A biography of John Eliot, 1604-1690." Ph.D. dissertation, Boston Univ., 1965. iv, 281p.
Abstracted in *DAI*, 26, No. 5 (1965), 2709.
- 2108 HUTCHINSON, WILLIAM R. "New England's further errand: millennial belief and the beginnings of foreign missions." *MHSP*, 94 (1982), 49-64.
Early-19th century.
- 2109 JENNINGS, FRANCIS. "Goals and functions of the Puritan missions to the Indians." *Ethnohistory*, 18 (Summer 1971), 197-212.
- 2110 KELLAWAY, WILLIAM. "The collection for the Indians of New England, 1649-1660." *John Rylands Library, Manchester [U.K.], Bulletin*, 39 (Mar. 1957), 444-462.
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (Anglican).
- 2111 _____. *The New England Company, 1649-1776: missionary society to the American Indians*. N.Y.: Barnes & Noble, 1961. 303p. MSaE. +
Reprinted 1975.
- 2112 KING, IRVING HENRY. "The S.P.G. and the Great Awakening in New England." *Connecticut Review*, 9 (Nov. 1975), 62-74.
See also next entry.
- 2113 _____. "The S.P.G. in New England, 1701-1784." Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Maine, 1968. 324p. NhKeS.
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
Abstracted in *DAI*, 29, No. 6A (1968), 1835. See also entry 2117.
- 2114 LANDRY, THOMAS M. *Mission catholique et française en Nouvelle-Angleterre*. Québec: Editions Ferland, 1962. MeU. +
- 2115 McELROY, PAUL SIMPSON. "John Eliot: the apostle to the Indians." *Danvers [Mass.] Historical Society, Historical Collections*, 34 (1946), 41-49.
- 2116 MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, BOSTON. "Tracts relating to the attempts to convert to Christianity the Indians of New England." *MHSC*, 3 ser. 4 (1834), 1-287.
- 2117 NEWCOMBE, ALFRED W. "The organization and procedure of the S.P.G., with special reference to New England." Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Michigan, 1934. 245p.
Described in *American Puritan Studies*, Michael S. Montgomery, comp. (1984), 44. See also entry 2113.
- 2118 ORTEGA y MEDINA, JUAN ANTONIO. "An analysis of the missionary methods of the Puritans." *Americas*, 14 (Oct. 1957), 125-134.
- 2119 OTIS, VIRGINIA LADD. "John Eliot, missionary to the Indians." *NEG*, 17 (Fall 1975), 25-31.
- 2120 PRINCE SOCIETY. *The New England Company of 1649 and John Eliot*. Boston, 1920. lxxxiv, 219p. CtY. +
Corporation for the Promoting and Propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England.
- 2121 RONDA, JAMES P. "'We are well as we are': an Indian critique of seventeenth-century Christian missions." *WMQ*, 3 ser. 34 (Jan. 1977), 66-82.
- 2122 RUSSELL, FRANCIS. "Apostle to the Indians." *American Heritage*, 8 (Dec. 1957), 5-9, 117-119.
John Eliot.
- 2123 SEBOLT, ALBERTA P. "'Few things around me which look like home.'" *Old Sturbridge Visitor*, 23 (Spring 1983), 7-9.
Foreign missions movement in New England (early-19th century).
- 2124 SEHR, TIMOTHY JEROME. "John Eliot, millennialist and missionary." *The Historian*, 46 (Feb. 1984), 187-203.
- 2125 SHEPARD, THOMAS. "The clear sun-shine of the gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New England." *MHSC*, 3 ser. 4 (1834), 25-67.
First published in 1648.
- 2126 _____. "The day-breaking if not the sun-rising of the gospel, with the Indians in New-England." *MHSC*, 3 ser. 4 (1834), 1-23.
First published in 1647.

- 2127 SMITH, BRADFORD. *Yankees in paradise: the New England impact on Hawaii*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1956. 376p. MBU. + Missions (19th century).
- 2128 STARKEY, MARION LENA. "Haystack mission." *NEG*, 8 (Spring 1967), 37-45. The foreign missions movement in New England (early-19th century).
- 2129 TANIS, NORMAN EARL. "Education in John Eliot's Indian utopias, 1645-1675." *History of Education Quarterly*, 10 (Fall 1970), 308-323.
- 2130 WEIS, FREDERICK LEWIS. "The New England Company of 1649 and its missionary enterprises." *Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Transactions*, 38 (1959), 134-218.
- 2131 WHITFIELD, HENRY. "The light appearing more and more towards the perfect day; or, a farther discovery of the present state of the Indians in New England concerning the progresse of the gospel amongst them." *MHSC*, 3 ser. 4 (1834), 100-147. First published in 1651.
- 2132 _____. "Strength out of weakness; or, a glorious manifestation of the further progresse of the gospel among the Indians in New-England." *MHSC*, 3 ser. 4 (1834), 149-196. First published in 1652.
- 2133 WINSLOW, OLA ELIZABETH. *John Eliot: "apostle to the Indians."* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968. 225p. MWA. +

SEE "Missions" in Index for additional listings.
- 2137 BIRDSALL, RICHARD DAVENPORT. "The Second Great Awakening and the New England social order." *Church History*, 39 (Sept. 1970), 345-364. 19th century.
- 2138 COTT, NANCY FALIK. "Young women in the Second Great Awakening in New England." *Feminist Studies*, 3 (Fall 1975), 15-29.
- 2139 EASTON, BARBARA LESLIE. "Women, religion, and the family: revivalism as an indicator of social change in early New England." Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of California, Berkeley, 1975. 232p.
- 2140 GAUSTAD, EDWIN SCOTT. *The Great Awakening in New England*. N.Y.: Harper, 1957. 173p. MStuO. +
- 2141 _____. "Society and the Great Awakening in New England." *WMQ*, 3 ser. 11 (Oct. 1954), 566-577.
- 2142 _____. "The theological effects of the Great Awakening in New England." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 40 (Mar. 1954), 681-706.
- 2143 GOEN, CLARENCE CURTIS. *Revivalism and separatism in New England, 1740-1800. Strict Congregationalists and Separate Baptists in the Great Awakening*. (1962) [Hamden, Conn.]: Archon Books, 1969. xii, 370p. Ct. +
See also next entry.
- 2144 _____. "Revivalism and separatism in New England, 1740-1800: Strict Congregationalists and Separate Baptists in the Great Awakening." Ph.D. dissertation, Yale Univ., 1960.
See also preceding entry.
- 2145 THE GREAT Awakening: documents on the revival of religion, 1740-1745. Richard L. Bushman, ed. N.Y.: Atheneum, 1970. xiv, 174p. MWA. +
Primarily New England documents.
- 2146 GREENE, EVARTS BOUTELL. "A Puritan counter-reformation." *AASP*, n.s. 42 (Apr. 1932), 17-46.
Evangelical revival in New England (early-19th century).
- 2147 GUELZO, ALLEN C. "George Whitefield comes to New England." *NEG*, 20 (Summer 1978), 12-21.
The evangelist's several visits, from 1740-1770.

REVIVALS

- 2134 [BALDWIN, THOMAS.] *Brief account of the late revivals of religion in a number of towns in the New-England states, and also in Nova-Scotia. Extracted chiefly from letters written by several gentlemen of unquestionable veracity*. Boston: Manning & Loring, 1799. 24p. CtHi. +
- 2135 BEALES, ROSS WORN, JR. "Harvard and Yale in the Great Awakening." *Historical Journal of Massachusetts*, 14 (Jan. 1986), 1-10.
The 18th-century revival.
- 2136 BILLINGS, T. H. "The Great Awakening." *EIHC*, 65 (Jan. 1929), 89-104.

2148 REVIVALS

- 2148 HARLAN, DAVID CRAIG. *The clergy and the Great Awakening in New England*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Pr., 1980. 172p. MStuO. +
See also next entry.
- 2149 _____. "The clergy and the Great Awakening in New England." Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of California, Irvine, 1979. 248p. MWA.
Abstracted in DAI, 39, No. 12A (1979), 7469. See also preceding entry.
- 2150 NORDBECK, ELIZABETH CURRIER. "Almost awakened: the great revival in New Hampshire and Maine, 1727-1748." *Historical New Hampshire*, 35 (Spring 1980), 23-58.
- 2151 O'BRIEN, SUSAN. "A transatlantic community of saints: the Great Awakening and the first evangelical network, 1735-1755." *American Historical Review*, 91 (Oct. 1986), 811-832.
- 2152 PARKES, HENRY B. "New England and the Great Awakening: a study in the theory and practice of New England Calvinism." Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Michigan, 1929. 351p.
- 2153 PIKE, SAMUEL W. "A study of New England revivals." *American Journal of Sociology*, 15 (Nov. 1909), 361-378.
Beginning with the Second Great Awakening.
- 2154 SIMMONS, WILLIAM SCRANTON. "The Great Awakening and Indian conversion in southern New England." *Papers of the Tenth Algonquian Conference* (1979), 25-36.
- 2155 THE STATE of religion in New-England since the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield's arrival there, in a letter from a gentleman in New-England to his friend in Glasgow. Glasgow: R. Foulis, 1742. 44p. MBNEH. +
- 2156 STENERSON, DOUGLAS C. "An Anglican critique of the early phase of the Great Awakening in New England: a letter by Timothy Cutler." *WMQ*, 3 ser. 30 (July 1973), 475-488.
- 2157 STOUT, HARRY S. II. "The Great Awakening in New England reconsidered: the New England clergy as a case study." *JSH*, 8 (Fall 1974), 21-47.
- 2158 TRACY, JOSEPH. *The Great Awakening: a history of the revival of religion in the time of Edwards and Whitefield*. Boston: Tappan and Dennett, 1842. xviii, 433p. MWA. +
Mainly about New England.
- 2159 TYLER, BENNET. *New England revivals, as they existed at the close of the eighteenth, and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries*. Compiled principally from narratives first published in the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*. Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, 1846. xvi, 328p. RHi. +
- 2160 WARCH, RICHARD. "The shepherd's tent: education and enthusiasm in the Great Awakening." *American Quarterly*, 30 (Summer 1978), 177-198.
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- 2570 _____. "The Templeton 'run' and the Pomfret 'cluster': patterns of diffusion in rural New England meetinghouse architecture, 1647-1822." *OTNE*, 68 (Jan.-June 1978), 1-21.
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- 2737 ALLEN, EDWARD B. "Some old New England frescoes." *OTNE*, 25 (Jan. 1935), 79-84.
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- 2738 AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF MUSEUMS. NEW ENGLAND BRANCH. ART SECTION. *Art in New England: the arts and crafts of New England and a survey of the tastes of its people*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Pr., [1939?]. Var. p. MStuO. +
- 2739 BAYLEY, FRANK W. *Five colonial artists of New England*. Boston: Priv. Published, 1929. vi, 448p. MBU. +
Joseph Badger, Joseph Blackburn, John Singleton Copley, Robert Feke, and John Smibert.
- 2740 BEAM, PHILIP CONWAY. "Winslow Homer's father." *NEQ*, 20 (Mar. 1947), 51-74.
Charles Savage Homer, Sr., of Boston and Prout's Neck, Me.
- 2741 BELKNAP, W. PHOENIX. "The identity of Robert Feke." *Art Bulletin*, 29 (Sept. 1947), 201-207.
Portrait painter (lived ca. 1705-ca. 1750).

- 2742 BISHOP, ROBERT CHARLES. "The Borden limner and his contemporaries." Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Michigan, 1975. vii, 323p. NhKeS.
Portrait painter John S. Blunt (lived 1798-1835), of Portsmouth, N.H., and Boston. Abstracted in *DAI*, 36, No. 10A (1976), 6346.
- 2743 _____. "John Blunt: the man, the artist, and his times." *The Clarion* (Spring 1980), 20-40.
See also preceding entry.
- 2744 BLACK, MARY. *Erastus Salisbury Field: 1805-1900*. Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, Massachusetts, February 5-April 1, 1984; National Museum of American Art and National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C., June 10-September 4, 1984; Museum of American Folk Art and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, November-December 1984; Marion Koogler McNay Art Institute, San Antonio, Texas, January-February 1985. Springfield, Mass.: Museum of Fine Arts, 1984. 115p. MStuO. +
- 2745 _____. "Two painters: itinerants in New York and New England." *DubSemPr* (1984), 226-243.
Ammi Phillips and Erastus Salisbury Field.
- 2746 BOLTON, THEODORE. "New England portrait painters in miniature." *OTNE*, 12 (Jan. 1922), 131-134.
- 2747 BOWDITCH, HAROLD. "Early water-color paintings of New England coats of arms." *Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publications*, 35 (1951), 172-210.
- 2748 BROCKTON [MASS.] ART MUSEUM. FULLER MEMORIAL. *Selections: three centuries of New England art from New England museums, 18th, 19th, and 20th century*. Brockton, Mass., [1969?]. [49]p. MSaE. +
- 2749 BUMGARDNER, GEORGIA BRADY. "The early career of Ethan Allen Greenwood." *DubSemPr* (1984), 212-225.
Itinerant painter (early-19th century).
- 2750 CANDEE, RICHARD McALPIN. "The early New England textile village in art." *Antiques*, 98 (Dec. 1970), 910-915.
- 2751 CANTOR, JAY E. *The landscape of change: views of rural New England, 1790-1865*: February 9 to May 16, 1976, Old Sturbridge Village, Sturbridge, Mass.: Old Sturbridge Village, 1976. [16]p. MStuO. +
See also this author's articles on same subject in *Antiques*, 109 (Apr. 1976), 772-783; and *Art in America*, 64 (Jan.-Feb. 1976), 51-54.

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- 2752 CANTOR, JAY E., and ANDREW H. BAKER. "Views of rural New England, 1790-1865: selected from 'The landscape of change.'" *DubSemPr* (1986), 126-147. See also preceding entry.
- 2753 COBURN, F. W. "New England impressionists in the Redman collection." *NEM*, n.s. 43 (Jan. 1911), 437-446. Harry Newton Redman, of Boston.
- 2754 COLBY COLLEGE, WATERVILLE, ME. ART MUSEUM. Portraits of New England places: twenty-fifth anniversary exhibition, July 18-September 30, 1984. Waterville, Me., 1984. 57p. MeHi.
- 2755 CRAVEN, WAYNE. "Winckworth Allan Gay, Boston painter of the White Mountains, Paris, the Nile, and Mount Fujiyama." *Antiques*, 120 (Nov. 1981), 1222-1232. Lived 1821-1910.
- 2756 CRESSON, MARGARET FRENCH. *Journey into fame*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Pr., 1947. xv, 316p. MWA. + Sculptor Daniel Chester French (lived 1850-1931).
- 2757 CURTIS, JOHN OBED. "Portraits at Old Sturbridge Village." *Antiques*, 116 (Oct. 1979), 880-889. New England portraits.
- 2758 _____. "Some contemporary views of the New England militia." *Military Collector and Historian*, 30 (Fall 1978), 100-108. Early-19th century. See also entry 3632.
- 2759 DE LORME, ELEANOR PEARSON. "Gilbert Stuart: portrait of an artist." *Winterthur Portfolio*, 14 (Winter 1979), 339-360. Lived 1755-1828.
- 2760 DODS, AGNES M. "Connecticut Valley painters." *Antiques*, 46 (Oct. 1944), 207-209.
- 2761 _____. "Erastus Salisbury Field (1805-1900): a New England folk artist." *OTNE*, 33 (Oct. 1942), 27-32.
- 2762 DOWNES, WILLIAM HOWE. *The life and works of Winslow Homer*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911. xxvii, 306p. MWA. + Lived 1836-1910.
- 2763 DRESSER, LOUISA. "New England painting from 1700 to 1775." *American Collector*, 12 (Mar. 1943), 6-7, 19.
- 2764 _____. "Some New England portraits, 1700-1775." *Antiques*, 43 (Mar. 1943), 126-128.
- 2765 DRISCOLL, JOHN PAUL, and JOHN K. HOWAT. *John Frederick Kensett: an American master*. N.Y.: W. W. Norton, 1985. 208p. CtHi. + Landscape painter (lived 1816-1872).
- 2766 FEDERAL ART PROJECTS IN NEW ENGLAND. *Federal art in New England, 1933-1937...with a history of the arts projects in New England by Richard C. Morrison....* n.p., [1937?]. 64p. MWA. +
- 2767 FLEXNER, JAMES THOMAS. "New England painting, 1700-1725." *Antiques*, 51 (Feb. 1947), 109-111.
- 2768 _____. *The world of Winslow Homer, 1836-1910*. N.Y.: Time, Inc., 1966. 190p. MeU. +
- 2769 FOOTE, HENRY WILDER. *Robert Feke: colonial portrait painter*. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Pr., 1930. xix, 223p. MWA. +
- 2770 FORBES, HARRIETTE MERRIFIELD. "Early portrait sculpture in New England." *OTNE*, 29 (Apr. 1929), 159-172.
- 2771 FOURATT, MARY EILEEN. "Ruth Henshaw Bascom, itinerant portraitist." *DubSemPr* (1984), 190-211. During the period from 1828-1846.
- 2772 GARDNER, ALBERT TEN EYCK. *Winslow Homer, American artist: his world and his work*. N.Y.: Clarkson N. Potter, 1961. 262p. MeU. +
- 2773 GETLEIN, FRANK G. "A fantasy world from a stern-faced Yankee painter." *Smithsonian*, 15 (Aug. 1984), 60-69. Erastus Salisbury Field.
- 2774 GOODRICH, LLOYD. *Winslow Homer*. N.Y.: Macmillan, 1944. viii, 241, 63p. MWA. +
- 2775 GOULD, JEAN. *Winslow Homer: a portrait*. N.Y.: Dodd, Mead, 1962. x, 305p. MWA. +
- 2776 HALL, ELTON W. "R. Swain Gifford." *American Art Review*, 1 (May-June 1974), 51-67. Painter of New England landscapes and seascapes (lived 1840-1905).
- 2777 HARTLEY, MARSDEN. "The six greatest New England painters." *Yankee*, 3 (Aug. 1937), 14-16.

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- 2779 HAVERSTOCK, MARY SAYRE. "A halcyon summer that lingered on and on--in painting." *Smithsonian*, 3 (July 1972), 32-39.
Concerning the work of some American impressionists in New England.
- 2780 HEARD, PARTICIA L. With faithfulness and quite dignity: Albert Gallatin Hoit, 1809-1856. Concord, N.H.: New Hampshire Historical Society, [1985]. 32p. NhHi. +
Painter.
- 2781 HILL, JOYCE. "New England itinerant portraitists." *DubSemPr* (1984), 150-171.
- 2782 HOLZER, HAROLD. "Daniel Chester French, an American sculptor." *American Art and Antiques*, 2 (Sept.-Oct. 1979), 94-100.
- 2783 JORDAN, CHARLES J. "A New England trip: tracking down WPA murals." *Yankee*, 41 (Jan. 1977), 122-130.
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- 2784 KNOX, KATHARINE McCOOK. "A note on Michele Felice Cornè." *Antiques*, 57 (June 1950), 450-451.
Painter, in Salem, Boston, and Newport (from 1799-ca. 1830).
- 2785 KORNHAUSER, ELIZABETH MANKIN. "Ralph Earl as an itinerant artist: patterns of patronage." *DubSemPr* (1984), 172-189.
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- 2786 _____. "Regional landscapes in Connecticut River Valley portraits, 1790-1810." *Antiques*, 128 (Nov. 1985), 1012-1019.
- 2787 KRISTIANSEN, ROLF H., and JOHN J. LEAHY, JR. *Rediscovering some New England artists, 1875-1900: biographies and memorabilia of some little known and forgotten master New England painters.* Dedham, Mass.: Gardner-O'Brien Associates, 1987. 316p. MB. +
- 2788 LA BUDDE, KENNETH JAMES. "The rural earth: sylvan bliss." *American Quarterly*, 10 (Summer 1958), 142-153.
Thomas Cole as painter of New England and New York landscapes (1820s-1840s).
- 2789 LIPMAN, JEAN HERTZBERG. "The rediscovery of Rufus Porter." *Antiques*, 119 (Jan. 1981), 204-211.
Artist and inventor (lived 1792-1884). See also following entries.
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- 2791 _____. *Rufus Porter: Yankee pioneer.* N.Y.: Clarkson N. Potter, 1968. ix, 202p. MStuO. +
- 2792 _____. "Rufus Porter, Yankee wall painter." *Art in America*, 38 (Oct. 1950), 135-200.
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- 2793 LITTLE, NINA FLETCHER. *Country art in New England, 1790-1840.* (1960) Sturbridge, Mass.: Old Sturbridge Village, 1965. 40p. MStuO. +
- 2794 _____. "J. S. Blunt: New England landscape painter." *Antiques*, 54 (Sept. 1948), 172-174.
1820s and 1830s.
- 2795 _____. "John Brewster, Jr., 1766-1854." *Antiques*, 78 (Nov. 1960), 462-463.
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- 2796 _____. "John Brewster, Jr., 1766-1854: deaf-mute portrait painter of Connecticut and Maine." *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin*, 25 (Oct. 1960), 97-129.
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- 2797 _____. *New England on land & sea: an exhibition from the collection of Bertram K. and Nina Fletcher Little, June 9-September 7, 1970, Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts.* [Salem, Mass.]: Peabody Museum, 1970. 24, [8]p. RPB. +
- 2798 _____. *Paintings by New England provincial artists, 1775-1800.* Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1976. 173p. CtHi. +
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- 2799 _____. "Provincial portraits for country cousins." *American Heritage*, 1 (Summer 1950), 46-49.
- 2800 _____. "William M. Pryor, traveling artist, and his in-laws, the painting Hamblens." *Antiques*, 53 (Jan. 1948), 44-48.
19th century.

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- 2801 McGRATH, ROBERT L. "Ideality and actuality: the landscape of northern New England." *DubSemPr* (1980), 106-116.
"...Artists rather than farmers and entrepreneurs gave ultimate definition to the vital qualities of the landscape and articulated that perception for succeeding generations."
- 2802 _____. "Pompeii and New England: the archaeology of early American murals." *OTNE*, 61 (Oct.-Dec. 1970), 31-40.
- 2803 McLANATHAN, RICHARD. *Gilbert Stuart*. N.Y.: Harry N. Abrams, 1986. 159p. RHi. +
- 2804 MANKIN, ELIZABETH R. "Zedediah Belknap." *Antiques*, 110 (Nov. 1976), 1056-1066.
Itinerant painter (lived 1781-1858).
- 2805 MAYTHAM, THOMAS N. "Two faces of New England portrait painting: Erastus Field and Henry Darby." *Museum of Fine Arts [Boston], Bulletin*, 61 (1963), 31-42.
- 2806 MILLER, FREDERICK DeWOLFE. *Christopher Pearse Cranch and his caricatures of New England Transcendentalism*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Pr., 1951. xi, 81p. MBU. +
Cartoons (ca. 1835).
- 2807 MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON. *New England miniature, 1750 to 1850*. Barbara Neville Parker, comp. Boston: T. O. Metcalf, 1957. Var. p. MStuO. +
Miniature painting.
- 2808 NEAL, AVON, and ANN PARKER. *Early American stone sculpture found in the burying grounds of New England*. N.Y.: Sweetwater Editions, 1981. 114p. MStuO. +
- 2809 THE NEW England image: nineteenth-century landscapes from the college collection. Margaret Moody Stier, ed. Hanover, N.H.: Trustees of Dartmouth College, 1982. 63p. NhD. +
- 2810 NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, CONCORD. *Full of facts and sentiment: the art of Franklin H. Shapleigh*. Concord, N.H., 1982. 64p. MWA. +
Painter of the New England landscape (born 1842).
- 2811 O'BRIEN, DONALD C. "Elkanah Tisdale: designer, engraver and miniature painter." *Connecticut Historical Society, Bulletin*, 49 (Spring 1984), 83-96.
A native of Lebanon, Conn., Tisdale (lived 1768-1835) was "active in New York, Boston and Hartford for over forty years."
- 2812 THE PAINTINGS and journal of Joseph Whiting Stock. Juliette Tomlinson, ed. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan Univ. Pr., 1976. xv, 180p. MStuO. +
Portrait painter (lived 1815-1855). See also entry 2829.
- 2813 PARKER, BARBARA NEVILLE. "New England miniatures." *Antiques*, 74 (Sept. 1958), 237-240.
Miniature painting. See also entry 2807.
- 2814 _____. "Paintings of old and New England." *Antiques*, 47 (Apr. 1945), 214-216.
- 2815 PASSOW, JON. *Boston and Five Islands: forty years behind the lens of Charles Tinkham; a retrospective*. Camden, Me.: Down East Books, 1981. xi, 153p. MB. +
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- 2816 PATTERSON, J. DANIEL. "God's determinations: the occasion, the audience, and Taylor's hope for New England." *Early American Literature*, 22 (Spring 1987), 63-81.
Poem by Edward Taylor (1662).
- 2817 PELADEAU, MARIUS B. *Chansonetta: the life and photographs of Chansonetta Stanley Emmons, 1858-1937*. Waldoboro, Me.: Maine Antiques Digest, 1977. 96p. MeU. +
Longtime resident of Newton, Mass., who spent summers in her hometown, Kingfield, Me.
- 2818 PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM, MASS. Michele Felice Cornè, 1752-1846, versatile Neapolitan painter of Salem, Boston & Newport. Salem, Mass., 1972. 44p. MSaE. +
- 2819 RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN, PROVIDENCE. MUSEUM OF ART. *The catalogue of old and New England: an exhibition of American painting of colonial and early republican days, together with English painting of the same time*. Offered in cooperation with the Rhode Island War Finance Committee of the United States Treasury Department...from January 19th through February 18, 1945. Providence, R.I., [1945?]. 62, [20]p. MWA. +

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- 2821 ROBINSON, FRANK T. *Living New England artists: biographical sketches, reproductions of original drawings and paintings by each artist.* Boston: S. E. Cassino, 1888. 200p. MSaE. + Reprinted 1977.
- 2822 ROBINSON, WILLIAM F. *A certain slant of light: the first hundred years of New England photography.* Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1980. 243p. MB. +
- 2823 ROMAINE, LAWRENCE BOND. "John James Audubon, salesman." *Massachusetts Audubon Society, Bulletin*, 35 (Oct. 1951), 278-282.
His efforts (early 1840s) to obtain subscriptions in New England for his work.
- 2824 SAVAGE, GAIL, NORBERT H. SAVAGE, and ESTHER SPARKS. *Three New England watercolor painters.* [Chicago]: Art Institute of Chicago, 1974. 72p. MStuO. +
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- 2825 SCHLOSS, CHRISTINE SKEELES. *The Beardsley limner and some contemporaries: post-revolutionary portraiture in New England, 1785-1805.* Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972. 47p. MStuO. +
See also this author's article on same subject in *Antiques*, 103 (Mar. 1973), 533-538; and additional listings about the Beardsley limner in the Connecticut volume.
- 2826 SEARS, CLARA ENDICOTT. *Some American primitives: a study of New England faces and folk portraits.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1941. xviii, 291p. MStuO. +
- 2827 SHEPARD, PAUL, JR. "Paintings of the New England landscape: a scientist looks at their geomorphology." *College Art Journal*, 17 (Fall 1957), 30-42.
- 2828 SKERRETT, JOSEPH T., JR. "Edward M. Bannister, Afro-American painter (1828-1901)." *Negro History Bulletin*, 41 (May-June 1978), 829.
Worked in Boston and Providence.
- 2829 SMITH COLLEGE, NORTHAMPTON, MASS. MUSEUM OF ART. *Joseph Whiting Stock, 1815-1855: February 4-March 20, 1977.* Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Massachusetts. Northampton, Mass., 1977. 62p. MStuO. +
Portrait painter. See also entry 2812.
- 2830 SPEAR, ARTHUR, JR. *Arthur Spear, 1879-1959.* Warren, Me.: Warren Historical Society, 1981. vii, 40p. MBU. +
Painter, with ties to Boston and Maine.
- 2831 SPINNEY, FRANK OAKMAN. "Joseph H. Davis, left hand painter." *Wakefield-Brookfield [N.H.] Historical Society, Meeting in Print*, 3 (Winter 1949), [3-5].
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- 2832 STEIN, ROGER B. *Seascape and the American imagination.* N.Y.: C. N. Potter, 1975. xii, 144p. CtMy. +
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- 2833 TATHAM, DAVID. "Winslow Homer and the New England poets." *AASP*, 89 (Oct. 1979), 241-260.
Homer as a book illustrator.
- 2834 WARREN, WILLIAM LAMSON. "Richard Brunton--itinerant craftsman." *Art in America*, 39 (Apr. 1951), 80-94.
Engraver and counterfeiter (late-18th and early-19th centuries).
- 2835 WILLIAMS COLLEGE, WILLIAMSTOWN, MASS. MUSEUM. *The New England eye: master American paintings from New England school, college, and university collections.* An exhibition (Williams College--September 11 through November 6, 1983). Williamstown, Mass., 1983. 63p. MBAAt. +
- 2836 WOLFE, ALICE WALKER. "Another Ellsworth." *Spinning Wheel*, 14 (Nov. 1958), 14, 16.
Itinerant painter James Sanford Ellsworth (lived 1802-1874?).
- 2837 WOODBURY, DAVID O. "Charles H. Woodbury: Yankee with a paint brush." *NEG*, 5 (Spring 1964), 19-28.
New England landscape painter (born 1864).
- 2838 WORCESTER [MASS.] ART MUSEUM. *Art in New England: early New England printmakers.* An exhibition held in collaboration with the American Antiquarian Society, July 1939-January 1940. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Pr., [1939?]. 77, [14]p. MStuO. +

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- 2839 WORCESTER [MASS.] ART MUSEUM. XVIIth century painting in New England: a catalogue of an exhibition held at the Worcester Art Museum in collaboration with the American Antiquarian Society, July and August, 1934. Louisa Dresser, ed. Worcester, Mass.: The Trustees, 1935. 187p. MStuO. +

SEE "Art and artists" in Index for additional listings.

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- 2840 ACKERMAN, PHYLLIS. "Wallpaper from New England houses." *Antiques*, 69 (May 1956), 440-443.
- 2841 ADAMS, JOHN PHILLIPS. *Bottle collecting in New England*. Somersworth, N.H.: New Hampshire Publishing, 1969. 120p. MLowU. +
- 2842 AVERY, AMOS GEER. *New England clocks at Old Sturbridge Village: the J. Cheney Wells collection*. (1955) 2d ed. Sturbridge, Mass.: Old Sturbridge Village, 1966. [46]p. MStuo. +
- 2843 BAKER, MURIEL L. "Some New England crewelwork bed furniture." *NEG*, 6 (Summer 1964), 29-36.
- 2844 BARR, LOCKWOOD ANDERSON. "The forerunner of the Willard banjo." *Antiques*, 75 (Mar. 1959), 282-285.
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- 2845 "BASKETMAKING in New England during the 19th century." *Middleborough [Mass.] Antiquarian*, 8 (Apr. 1906), 6-7.
- 2846 BATES, VIRGINIA T., and BEVERLY CHAMBERLAIN. *Antique bottle finds in New England*. Peterborough, N.H.: Noone House, 1968. 80p. VtU. +
- 2847 BENES, PETER. "Decorated family records from coastal Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut." *DubSemPr* (1985), 91-147.
- 2848 _____. *New England prospect: a loan exhibition of maps at the Currier Gallery of Art, Manchester, New Hampshire*. [Boston]: Boston Univ., 1980. xx, 124p. MWA. +
- 2849 BOGDONOFF, NANCY DICK. *Handwoven textiles of early New England: the legacy of a rural people, 1640-1880*. Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole, 1975. 192p. MStuO. +
- 2850 BREWER, PRISCILLA JOAN. "Home fires: cultural responses to the introduction of the cookstove, 1815-1900." Ph.D. dissertation, Brown Univ., 1987. 239p.
Abstracted in *DAI*, 48, No. 4A (1987), 963.
- 2851 BROWN, MICHAEL K. "Scalloped-top furniture of the Connecticut River Valley." *Antiques*, 117 (May 1980), 1092-1099.
- 2852 BURROWS, FREDRIKA ALEXANDER. *The Yankee scrimshanders*. Taunton, Mass.: W. S. Sullwold, 1973. 79p. CtMy. +
- 2853 CAVALLO, ADLOPH S. "New England crewel embroideries." *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin*, 24 (Apr. 1959), 33-43.
- 2854 CHAPIN, HOWARD MILLAR. "Colonial military flags." *NEQ*, 4 (July 1931), 448-459.
- 2855 _____. "The early use of flags in New England." *OTNE*, 21 (Oct. 1930), 60-73.
- 2856 _____. "Notes on colonial flags." *OTNE*, 24 (Jan. 1934), 135-141.
- 2857 CHILDS, DAVID B. "The evolution of the Sheraton chest in New England." *Hobbies*, 64 (Aug. 1959), 58-60.
Early-19th century.
- 2858 CHINNERY, VICTOR. *Oak furniture: the British tradition; a history of early furniture in the British Isles and New England*. (1979) Woodbridge, Suffolk [U.K.]: Antiques Collectors' Club, 1986. 618p. MBU. +
- 2859 CLARK, EDIE. "The man who looked back and saw the future." *Yankee*, 50 (Sept. 1986), 108-113, 172-181.
Wallace Nutting, collector, photographer, and author of *New Englandiana*. See also entry 2872.
- 2860 CLARK, F. C. "Candlelight in colonial times." *NEM*, n.s. 1 (Jan. 1890), 516-518.
- 2861 CLARKE, HERMANN FREDERICK. "The craft of silversmith in early New England." *NEQ*, 12 (Mar. 1939), 68-79.

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- 2863 COOK, JANE L. "Along the Connecticut coast & up the Connecticut Valley." *Old Sturbridge Visitor*, 27 (Fall 1987), 7-9.
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- 2864 COONS, MARTHA, and KATHERINE KOOB. Linen-making in New England, 1640-1860: all sorts of good sufficient cloth. North Andover, Mass.: Merrimack Valley Textile Museum, 1980. 121p. MWA. +
- 2865 "COSTUME and fabrics in eighteenth-century New England." *OTNE*, 19 (Apr. 1929), 187-190.
- 2866 CUMMINGS, ABBOTT LOWELL. "Notes on furnishing the seventeenth-century house." *OTNE*, 46 (Winter 1956), 57-67.
- 2867 _____. Rural household inventories: establishing the names, uses, and furnishings of rooms in the colonial New England home, 1675-1775. Boston: Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1964. xl, 306p. MStuO. +
- 2868 CURRIER, CHARLES. "John Osgood, clockmaker of the Merrimack and Connecticut River Valley." *Antiques Journal*, 15 (Jan. 1960), 15-17, 36.
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- 2869 DELPH, SHIRLEY, and JOHN DELPH. New England decoys. Exton, Pa.: Schiffer Publishing, [1981]. 159p. MW. +
- 2870 DODGE, ERNEST STANLEY. "Captain collectors: the influence of New England shipping on the study of Polynesian material culture." *EIHC*, 81 (Jan. 1945), 27-34.
- 2871 DOMESTIC pottery of the northeastern United States, 1625-1850. Sarah Peabody Turnbaugh, ed. Orlando, Fla.: Academic Pr., 1985. xxi, 319p. MStuO. +
Includes essays on New England potters and potteries.
- 2872 DULANEY, WILLIAM L. "Wallace Nutting: collector and entrepreneur." *Winterthur Portfolio*, No. 13 (1979), 47-60.
See also entry 2859.
- 2873 EATON, ALLEN HENDERSHOTT. *Handicrafts of New England*. N.Y.: Harper, 1949. xxi, 374p. MStuO. +
- 2874 ENDICOTT, ROBERT RANTOUL. "Cherry was the mahogany of New England." *American Collector*, 5 (Mar. 1936), 4-5, 12.
- 2875 "EVIDENCES of daily life in New England, 1790-1810." *OTNE*, 56 (July-Sept. 1965), 14-24.
- 2876 FALES, MARTHA GANDY. "Two early New England dummy boards." *Antiques*, 120 (Dec. 1981), 1422-1423.
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- 2877 FENNELLY, CATHERINE M. Textiles in New England, 1790-1840. Sturbridge, Mass.: Old Sturbridge Village, 1961. 40p. MStuO. +
- 2878 FLYNT, HENRY NEEDHAM, and MARTHA GANDY FALES. The Heritage Foundation collection of silver; with biographical sketches of New England silversmiths, 1625-1825. Deerfield, Mass.: Heritage Foundation, 1968. xiv, 391p. MStuO. +
- 2879 FORBES, EDWIN FISHER. "New England trademarks." *OTNE*, 31 (Apr. 1941), 83-87.
- 2880 FRENCH, REGINALD. "English delftware in New England." *Connecticut League of Historical Societies, Bulletin*, 8 (Summer 1956), 8-10.
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